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Fear Goes Viral &  
What You Can Do

The Meltdown One  
Year Later: Why the  
System Is Still Broken



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# TIME



## Mad Man

Glenn Beck and  
the angry style  
of American politics

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



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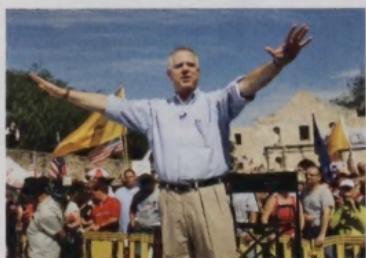
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On the cover: Photograph by Jill Greenberg—Corbis Outline. Inset, Schelbus: Jacquelyn Martin—AP



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To Our Readers

# All the Rage.

Our politics seem to have reached a new level of discord. But history tells us otherwise. Today there are so many more ways to shout

IN 1964, THE YEAR AFTER THE ASSASSINATION of John F. Kennedy, historian Richard Hofstadter published what is probably his most enduring essay, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." Hofstadter contends there has been an angry, suspicious, apocalyptic strain in American political life going back to the very beginning of the Republic. From anxieties about the Illuminati in the 18th century to concerns about the Masons in the 19th century to the John Birch Society's assertion that President Dwight Eisenhower was an actual communist agent, Hofstadter suggests there has been a fear about hidden conspiracies that has animated those on the right and the left. He was very clear about that—the paranoid style was not the exclusive province of any party or persuasion.

In many ways, his key insight was not historical but psychological: each side projects its own worst attributes onto the other, demonizing the enemy as an exaggerated and negative version of itself. We see some of that in our culture today. It's been a long and fraught summer in the political realm, and the hope for bipartisan harmony now seems like a naive fantasy. Each side, to quote Hofstadter, claims that what is at stake is "always a conflict about absolute good and absolute evil."

What we've learned from psychology is that certainty is not an objective reality but an emotional one; our certainty has more to do with our own inner state than any outer one. And these toxic certainties of today—on the right and the left—exist in the age of 24-hour cable, the Internet and Twitter, where people on the edge of the national conversation can jostle their way to the center.

How much of the toxicity of the current conversation stems from the fact that we have the first African-American President is unknowable. That racism exists is indisputable. Two more things we know: First, there is a deep sense of discontent among many Americans and a distrust of government and authority, which TIME's recent poll showed. And second, a lack of respect and civility in our discourse undermines our ability as a nation to solve our problems—and we

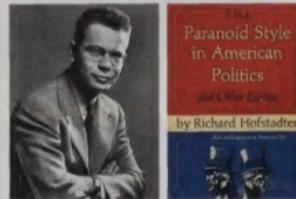


Tea party Tax protesters outside the state capitol in Olympia, Wash., on April 15

have quite a lot of them at the moment.

One of our jobs as journalists is to be the referee, the honest broker who sorts through the accusations and says, This is fact, and this is fantasy. To do that, we asked editor-at-large David Von Drehle, based in Kansas City, Mo., to shed light on the Glenn Beck phenomenon as well as the larger idea of the anger of American politics today. "Clearly, Glenn Beck is extremely talented, and the man has struck a chord," Von Drehle says. "But the nature of politics right now rewards the people who play the least harmonious tunes."

Let's leave the final word to Professor Hofstadter: "It seems to me to be clear that a political society cannot hang together at all unless there is some kind of consensus running through it." Let's strive to find that.



**Toxic certainties** More than 30 years have passed since Hofstadter, above, explored the strain of deep distrust that he believed was inherent in American politics

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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# 10 Questions.

The Congressman and libertarian activist has a new book, *End the Fed*.  
**Ron Paul will now take your questions**



## Next Questions

Ask Kofi Annan your questions for an upcoming interview at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

**What role does the Federal Reserve have in our current economic downturn?**

*Brad Thomas*

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

The Federal Reserve is the key element in the formation and collapse of financial bubbles. They're a government unto themselves. They print their own money. So if people have any concern whatsoever about the serious financial problems that we have, they have to know about what the Federal Reserve is doing.

**Do you think you were treated fairly by the mainstream media during your 2008 presidential candidacy?**

*Jacob Schans*

SILVER SPRING, MD.

I know if you asked my supporters that question, you'd get a pretty strong answer. But in spite of it all, I was very pleased. The little bit of time I had, I hope I made good use of it.

**If people are so frustrated with a two-party system, why has there been so little success in coming up with another real contender?**

*Erika Groff, TROY, N.Y.*

Because we don't have a two-party system. We have a one-party system. Both parties endorse the welfare state and corporatism. Both parties support interventionism overseas. But they also write all the campaign laws. So they have made it virtually impossible to break into the monopoly. If I had run on a third-party ticket I wouldn't have been in the debates.

**What would you do to reform health care?**

*Leslie Gillis, ARLINGTON, MASS.*



*For Liberty  
Ron Paul*

I'd get the government out of the way. It's so important that the maximum number of people get the maximum amount of care. The harder the subject is—the more difficult, the more complicated—the more you need the marketplace.

**Why do you support the decriminalization of marijuana?**

*Craig Thomas*

LONGVIEW, TEXAS

Why support the criminalization of marijuana is the better question. First, I defend it because a free society allows people to make free choices, even dumb choices. And the problems we have with the war on drugs are a thousand times worse than the problems we have with drug overusage.

**How do you feel about the way you were shown in the Sacha Baron Cohen film *Bruno*?**

*Matthew Thacker*

BOWLING GREEN, OHIO

I don't feel good about it because I was the subject of a trick, and nobody likes to be tricked. I understand they're not making a tremendous amount of money off this movie, so maybe the American people aren't as cynical as they assumed.

**Do you feel that fearmongering from conspiracy theorists helps or hurts the cause of liberty?**

*Kevin Tuma, HILLSBORO, TEXAS*

It depends if there is a true conspiracy. You could call the Federal Reserve a conspiracy because they're conspiring to run the whole economy se-

cretly. But the idea that there are 12 people holed up in some room someplace and they control the world through some type of conspiracy—I don't buy into that.

**Will you run in 2012?**

*Paul Panasuk*

SAN FRANCISCO

Right now I have no plans to do it. That's a long way off.

**Why do you oppose the income tax?**

*Mike Phillips, MADISON, WIS.*

Because I have a right to the fruits of my labor, and government does not. If you concede the principle of the income tax, you concede the principle that the government owns all your income and permits you to keep a certain percentage of it. God-given rights to our life and our liberty don't come from government.

**How does objecting to all legislation serve your constituents?**

*Richard English*

MISSION VIEJO, CALIF.

I vote against all spending—even spending that I might justify—unless it doesn't add to the deficit, because debt is a monster and it has driven us to the point of bankruptcy. I think my constituents' best interests are served by voting against all excessive spending. Evidently, they must understand it to some degree, because up until now I've been re-elected.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

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# Inbox



## The Way of Jay

TAKING THE TONIGHT SHOW AWAY FROM Jay Leno at the top of his game and ratings will go down as one of the biggest mistakes in broadcasting history [Sept. 14]. One would have to be a Jaywalking All-Star to doubt that he will succeed.

—Mel Maurer, WESTLAKE, OHIO

IF LENO IS THE FUTURE OF TELEVISION, I'M tuning out.

—Sara Klebba, TRAVERSE CITY, MICH.

WE DO NOT WATCH ANY OF THE SHOWS YOU list as competition to Leno. I believe NBC has hit on a gem. Leno has provided us some great humor to relax with before going to bed, and now we won't have to give up our sleep to get that.

—Linda E. Ferro, CLEVELAND

## Mr. Popularity—Not!

RE YOUR GLOWING REPORT ON "POPULAR" Republican Senator Charles Grassley and his efforts in the health-care debate [Sept. 14]: I'd like to tell the rest of the story. When Grassley talked about "pulling the plug on Grandma," he also pulled the plug on much of his support. The backlash has been tremendous, as evidenced partly by the many recent articles and letters in the Des Moines Register. Lifelong Republicans have vowed never to vote for him again. Iowa ranks third in the nation in percentage of people over 85 and, no doubt, in Medicare

recipients, so we know what a government-run, one-payer system can do, and most of us are demanding that a public option be included. So when Grassley puts on his flannel shirt and poses for pictures on a red tractor in his campaign for re-election next year, he will face an uphill battle.

—Priscilla Brown, CEDAR FALLS, IOWA

## You Call That Reform?

WHAT I LEARNED FROM TIME'S STORY ON Education Secretary Arne Duncan is that Duncan's only experience before he became head of Chicago schools was helping out in his mother's after-school tutoring program [Sept. 14]. His plan is to take nationwide the unproven, and not terribly successful, approaches he used in Chicago schools and also expand the Bush Administration's ineffective testing program. All because he thinks U.S. schools are "dysfunctional," despite analyses that show the primary problem is poverty, not the quality of our schools. American students who do not live in poverty have done well on international tests. Some reform!

—Stephen Krashen, LOS ANGELES

IT IS UNFAIR TO COMPARE PLAYING BASKETBALL in a rough neighborhood to fixing our failing schools. Passing the buck to teachers won't fix the problem either. I believe most teachers, like myself, try day after day to teach our students. Yet I am not a parent. I don't make sure my students go to bed at

**'Grassley has taken \$2 million from the health-care sector. Iowans deserve a Senator who stands up for them, not big business.'**

Carol A. Manning, BLUE LAKE, CALIF.

**Health choices** Grassley has loudly opposed the President's reform initiatives



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Don MacLaren, ELMHURST, N.Y.

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In "I Am the Walrus," we misstated the location of the Beatles' final gig, in 1969 [Sept. 14]. It was on the roof of Apple Studios. Also, the box set *The Beatles in Mono* does not feature every Beatles song, as we indicated; it omits those originally mixed only in stereo.

■ In "Crash for Clunkers," we misidentified two cars at a demolition derby final [Sept. 14]. The Imperials competing were Chrysler Imperials, not the rarer Chevrolet Imperials.

a reasonable time or make them a healthy breakfast. I also cannot control the impact of drugs, poverty and homelessness. No education-reform bill could possibly fix what is really wrong with our failing schools: life outside the classroom.

Elizabeth Mirkowski, WAUKESHA, WIS.

DUNCAN AND OTHERS EAGER TO SHAKE UP education are leaving out of the discussions a key group: students. We may not—yet—have attended Harvard like Duncan, but we can explain which methods work, and why, better than any other group. Please don't leave us out.

Allison Wu, NEWTON, MASS.

## A New Direction in Japan

RE "SPOTLIGHT" ON JAPAN'S ELECTIONS [Sept. 14]: With its new government, Japan has the opportunity to break with the past and become a model world citizen. I lived there for 11 years and directly experienced the limited opportunities offered to immigrants. One way the country can increase its workforce and tax base—and stimulate creativity in its population—is to change its immigration laws. If these policies were liberalized to coincide with those of the U.S., Japan would become a wealthier country, materially and culturally, and receive more respect internationally.

Don MacLaren, ELMHURST, N.Y.

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# Postcard: Timbuktu.

Scholars are rushing to rescue the medieval manuscripts that put one of the world's most remote towns on the map.  
**Saving Africa's literary history from destruction**

BY VIVIENNE WALT

Global Dispatch  
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**T**HE OLD BOOKS INSIDE FIDA AG Mohammed's mud dwelling are no ordinary volumes. Between the intricately hand-tooled goatskin covers are hundreds of pages of Arabic calligraphy—the work of centuries of forebears. "One of my ancestors from the 12th century began our family library," Mohammed says. "There are hundreds of collections like this."

For centuries, Timbuktu's locals have stashed such manuscripts in their homes or under the desert sands, preserved from termites with a covering of ashes and from collectors by Timbuktu's extreme remoteness. This sweltering northern Malian town feels like the end of the earth, with dirt tracks melting into the Sahara and chickens pecking between the mud-walled houses.

But Timbuktu's trove of manuscripts could change that. There are an estimated 50,000 still intact, many dating from the 14th to 16th centuries, when Timbuktu—perched at the crossroads of Africa's gold and salt routes—was a prosperous intellectual hub with a university and scores of Koranic schools. Now, racing to save the collections from disintegration or from being sold abroad, aid organizations and foreign governments are spending millions of dollars on conservation efforts.

A new museum, built by the South African government, opens later this year and will display tens of thousands of manuscripts. Aside from drawing tourists, it could have a larger impact, shattering the idea that Africa had no literary history before whites arrived. "Colonizers had always argued that they were here to civilize Africa," says Mahmoud Zouber, counselor on Islamic affairs to Mali's President. But, he says, "clearly Africa was not living in obscurity." While Europe languished in the Middle Ages, Timbuktu's literary output was enormous, with works on history, medi-



**More than words** Fida Ag Mohammed tends his family's manuscripts; below, a 12th century Koran

cine, law and theology, some illuminated with gold and crimson and illustrated with maps of the stars. "I have here my family's whole history," says Ismael Diadié Haidara, who runs one of Timbuktu's 32 family libraries. Haidara's ancestors fled Toledo, Spain, in 1467 with their books and then wrote and purchased thousands more. "Families that had no country had their libraries," he says. "They could say, 'This is where we come from.'"

But after centuries of being shielded from outsiders, can the manuscripts survive modern-day fame? Timbuktu's remoteness is fading fast. Tourists fly in nearly every day from the capital, Bamako, and thousands of American and European music fans descend for the annual Festival of the Desert in nearby Essakane. My driver introduces himself as "Jack—like Jack Bauer" from the TV show *24*. "This generation has the Internet, they see movies, they go away to study," says Mohammed, 42. All of that could threaten the manuscripts, whose guardianship has always been passed from one generation to the next.

Even medieval Saharan villages like Ber, an hour's drive from Timbuktu, are drawing collectors. "Since April, people have descended from Libya, Burkina Faso, Morocco," says Ber's imam, Mohammed Ag Mahmoud, 83. Mahmoud says locals are wary of outside interest, adding, "We won't sell our manuscripts, even if you offer us billions."

Mali's youth might feel differently. Timbuktu's imam, Ali Imam Ben Essayouti, shows me four 15th century manuscripts he purchased the day before from locals who were uncertain to whom to leave their collections. "We are trying to explain to each new generation why these are important," Essayouti says. "But many young people have no use for them. Some will see them as an easy way to make money." The manuscripts' value has soared abroad. In 1979, Zouber bought 25 Timbuktu manuscripts in France for about \$25,000. "Now they're worth perhaps 10 times that amount," he says. For a generation of young people who are increasingly wired and mobile and have seen no benefit from their astonishing heritage, such sums could be temptation enough for them to finally part with their centuries-old heirlooms.





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Mr. Buffett would say it's the legacy of great savings and service that helped 3 million drivers switch to GEICO last year. (Of course, a hard-working Gecko might've helped a bit too.)

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# Briefing

THE WORLD ■ SPOTLIGHT ■ VERBATIM

HISTORY ■ MILESTONES



## The Moment

9/15/09: Washington

BEN BERNANKE UTTERED the words after a speech at the Brookings Institution, the Washington think tank. Strobe Talbot, the Brookings president, had asked the Federal Reserve chairman about the employment outlook. It took Bernanke 417 words to answer him, and his basic message was that the outlook wasn't so good. But along the way, he said two things that made front page headlines the world over. "I've seen some agreement among the

forecasting community at this point that we are in a recovery" was the first, and "From a technical perspective, the recession is very likely over at this point" was the second.

Stop the presses: the Fed chairman says the recession is over and the recovery has begun! Never mind that, as Bernanke noted, this is by now common opinion among economic forecasters—and has been for weeks. Also never mind that Bernanke's prediction record as Fed chairman

hasn't been stellar. This is the man, after all, who told Congress in March 2007 that "the impact ... of the problems in the subprime market seems likely to be contained."

So why are we nonetheless making a big deal out of the

### Is the Great Recession over because Ben Bernanke says so?

Fed chairman's words? Partly because he's powerful. Bernanke's opinions on the economy's future shape the U.S. government's decisions about interest rates, bailout efforts and the like. Right now the main monetary-policy debate

is between those who think the recovery will be weak and fitful—and thus the Fed should keep doing what it can to stimulate the economy—and those who think it will be rip-roaring enough that further spending would spark inflation. At Brookings, Bernanke seemed to indicate that he stood with the first group. So while the recession may be over, he isn't saying that happy days are here again.

Our reaction to his statement feels more ritualistic than rational. After all, unemployment is still nudging 10%, and foreclosure rates remain high. Yet the Great Fed Shaman has pronounced the recession monster dead. Let us rejoice. —BY JUSTIN FOX

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



## ACORN NYC Child Prostitution Investigation Part II



Secretly recorded videos posted online show ACORN staffers giving unethical tax advice

## 1 | Washington

### ACORN Falls from Favor

The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) has drawn conservatives' ire ever since allegations of voter-registration fraud dogged the group in the 2008 election. So when an activist posing as an aspiring politician taped ACORN workers advising him on how to launder money from a brothel to fund his campaign, the knives came out. The scandal—along with recent charges that Florida staffers had falsified voter forms—has been a blow to the group, which works on behalf of low- and middle-income families. The U.S. Census Bureau dropped ACORN as a partner in the 2010 population count, and the Senate voted to strip it of \$1.6 million in grants. ACORN said it will stop advising new clients pending an independent review.

## 2 | Somalia

### Mission Accomplished

A raid by U.S. special forces has taken out a man believed to be one of al-Qaeda's top operatives in East Africa. Saleh All Saleh Nabhan, a 28-year-old Kenyan, was killed along with several others when helicopter gunships fired on his convoy in southern Somalia. A member of the nation's al-Shabaab insurgency, Nabhan was linked to the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and was wanted for a 2002 attack on a seaside hotel in Kenya and a failed plot to blow up an Israeli airliner. Somali militants have vowed retaliation for his death.



An artist's rendering of *Corot-7b*, a solid extrasolar planet first sighted in February

## 3 | Germany

### Far Away, a Place like Home

European astronomers hailed a landmark discovery: a planet outside our solar system that's solid and rocky like Earth. After months of observation, scientists confirmed *Corot-7b* is not a giant gas ball like Jupiter—a finding that heartened experts who believe potential alien life would require a firm surface. The planet, some 500 light-years away, is similar in size to Earth. One key difference: *Corot-7b*'s proximity to its sun raises its daytime surface temperature to a balmy 3600° F.

## 4 | Afghanistan

### More Rights for Detainees

For the first time, some 600 prisoners held at Afghanistan's Bagram air base will be able to challenge their indefinite detention before a military review board. The change comes after months of protests within the prison's walls over a string of reported abuses—including the 2009 deaths of two inmates at the hands of U.S. troops. The International Red Cross praised the policy change, although other human-rights advocates argued that the new guidelines do not go far enough. Detainees are currently not allowed to meet with lawyers or have access to the charges against them. Under the new rules, a military official will be assigned to examine the evidence in each case every six months.

## 5 | Indonesia

### Legal Stoning

Just weeks before moderate lawmakers take over Indonesia's conservative Aceh province, hard-line legislators have pushed through a number of Sharia-inspired punishments—such as whippings for homosexuality, public lashings for pedophilia and rape, and death by stoning for adultery. Critics say the laws violate international treaties, but overturning them could prove difficult: while some officials voiced concerns, no one voted against the measures.

## 6 | Caracas

### Nuclear Boost

After agreeing to arms and oil deals, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev



announced Sept. 13 that Russia would help the South American country develop nuclear energy. "We're not going to make an atomic bomb," said Chávez, "so don't be bothering us."

**Numbers:**

**1.3**

Proportion of votes for Afghan President Hamid Karzai that were "faked" during August's election, according to the E.U.

**1.7**

Proportion of Germans who want to restore the Berlin Wall because they believe the nation was better off divided



## 7 | Israel

**NO GOOD GUYS IN GAZA WAR** A six-month inquiry into last December's conflict in Gaza has prompted a U.N. fact-finding team to accuse both sides of committing war crimes. The team's report charged that Israel deliberately "punished and terrorized" civilians—many of whom remain homeless—and condemned Palestinian militants for firing rockets into Israel. The investigation angered Israeli officials, who accused the U.N. Human Rights Council of having a one-sided anti-Israel agenda.

## 8 | New York

## Holding Wall Street Accountable

In a rare move, a federal judge threw out a proposed \$33 million settlement between the Securities and Exchange Commission and Bank of America stemming from the company's January takeover of Merrill Lynch. The SEC had sued the bank over \$3.6 billion in undisclosed bonuses paid to Merrill staff before the deal. Judge Jed Rakoff accused bankers and regulators of having a "cynical relationship" that penalizes shareholders rather than bank executives.

## 9 | China

## Not-So-Free Trade

Beijing has cried foul to the World Trade Organization (WTO) after being whacked with a 35% U.S. tariff on Chinese tires in what some fear could lead to an escalating trade war. The U.S. argues that cheap imports were harming its tire industry; China has said it might limit U.S. auto and chicken imports in response.

### U.S. Trade Barriers: Shots Heard Round the World



**1983**  
Ronald Reagan imposes a 49% tariff on Japanese motorcycles at the request of Harley-Davidson. Three years later, Harley says it is no longer needed, and Reagan repeals it



**1989**  
George H.W. Bush extends Reagan-era steel-import quotas, limiting them to 20% of the U.S. market—for an additional 2% years



**1995**  
Bill Clinton threatens Japan with a 100% tariff on luxury cars unless Tokyo eases its regulations against U.S. automakers. An 11th-hour deal scuppers the tariff



**2002**  
George W. Bush imposes tariffs of up to 30% on imported steel in an effort to bolster the struggling U.S. industry. Facing a possible trade war with Europe and an official WTO rebuke, he repeals them in 2003

## 10 | Washington

## Crime Falls; Inequality Persists

Despite predictions that the Great Recession would foment a wave of lawlessness, U.S. crime dropped 1.9% from 2007 to 2008, according to statistics compiled by the FBI. Violent crimes were down across the board, and rapes fell to their lowest level in 20 years. But the news is not all good: burglary spiked, and black men remained about six times as likely as white men to be murdered.

Overall, U.S. crime dropped in 2008



## ★ | What They're Dumping in Belgium:

There was no honey, but Belgium was a land flowing with milk on Sept. 16 when farmers dumped 790,000 gal. (3 million L) of dairy product onto their fields to protest low prices. In an effort to draw attention to the cause, thousands of European Union milk farmers have also launched a milk strike, halting deliveries to industrial dairies and demanding strict production quotas.

# Spotlight

## Malpractice Reform



**Malpractice-insurance costs vary widely from state to state**

Estimated 2008 premiums for obstetricians:



Los Angeles  
\$80,000



Minneapolis  
\$20,000



Miami  
\$200,000

**M**ALPRACTICE REFORM HAS ALWAYS BEEN A RESOUNDINGLY popular idea with Republicans, which made the topic a perfect one for President Barack Obama to talk about in his recent address to Congress. George W. Bush had a "good idea" on malpractice reform, the President said—one he intended to pursue as part of a health-care overhaul. Cue a rare moment of bipartisan applause.

Both sides agree that current malpractice law—under which doctors pay as much as \$200,000 a year for liability insurance—is often unfair and inefficient. But when it comes to fixing the system, consensus is not so simple. Democrats oppose a federal cap on "noneconomic damages" in malpractice cases—money awarded for pain and suffering—that Republicans and doctors want. Supporters call the caps, already in place in some states, a quick and easy way to reduce malpractice-insurance premiums. An obstetrician in Texas, where such damages are capped, could pay 20% of what a colleague is charged in

Florida, where awards are unlimited.

But the main goal of health-care reform, the subject of Obama's speech to Congress, is to cut costs for everyone. Malpractice premiums make up less than 1% of U.S. health-care spending. Doctors argue that "defensive medicine"—the extraneous care they provide out of fear of being sued—costs much more, but the data are unclear. Texas, for example, has not seen health-care spending drop since instituting award caps in 2003. While a 1996 study said caps could cut costs up to 9%, the Congressional Budget Office stated in 2008 that it had "not found sufficient evidence to conclude that practicing defensive medicine has a significant effect" on spending.

Obama has vowed instead to fund projects examining alternatives, an effort echoed in the Senate Finance Committee health-reform bill released Sept. 16. One idea: apologize. Studies show that when doctors tell patients they erred and are sorry, litigation is much less likely. (Such admissions of guilt are typically inadmissible in court.) Since launching a program in which doctors admit errors and offer payments out of court, the University of Michigan Health System has cut claims in half.

Obama may have evoked Bush to encourage bipartisan good-fellowship, but he did not actually learn about this alternative from his predecessor. In 2006, Obama co-wrote a column with Hillary Clinton for the *New England Journal of Medicine* in which the two, then Senators, called for grant money to support programs that encourage doctors to admit errors up front and compensate patients early and out of court. Their reasoning: open communication about mistakes helps prevent them from happening again, saving money—and lives. —BY KATE PICKERT

**.40**

Amount of every dollar spent on malpractice-insurance premiums that goes toward awards; insurers spend much of the rest on legal fees

**\$326,931**

Average malpractice award in the U.S. in 2008

### HOW MALPRACTICE AWARDS ARE MADE



*Does not include cases that did not result in awards*

**2%**

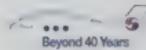
Percentage of patients injured by medical negligence who file malpractice claims

**30%**

The approximate percentage of malpractice awards that goes to patients' attorneys

**Sorry\***

\*Studies show that doctors who admit mistakes, apologize and offer compensation up front are less likely to get sued



Canada

USA

Brazil

France

Germany

UK

Switzerland

Netherlands

Italy

Spain

Egypt

Austria

Israel

Czech Republic

Turkey

Uzbekistan

UAE

Russia

Korea

Japan

China

Taiwan

Thailand

Mongolia

Cambodia

Nepal

Vietnam

India

Malaysia

Indonesia

Philippines

Singapore

Fiji

New Zealand

Australia

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Command



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# Verbatim

**'We're going to have no paper, no printing plants, no unions. It's going to be great.'**

**RUPERT MURDOCH.**, chairman of News Corp., hailing the prospect of electronic devices like the Amazon Kindle displacing newspapers, a process he estimates will take about 20 years

**'The only thing that happens is a check mark in a box in a courthouse.'**

**MARY MCCURNIN.**, a Rancho Cordova, Calif., woman, on her decision to file for a divorce in order to reap financial benefits. By getting the divorce, McCurnin, who is happily married to husband Ron Bednar, becomes eligible to receive the Social Security payments owed to her deceased first husband

**'I don't know why she would have felt threatened.'**

**SERENA WILLIAMS.**, tennis player, downplaying her profane tirade directed toward a lineswoman who called a foot fault against Williams during the deciding game of her U.S. Open women's semifinal match. Williams incurred a point penalty for the outburst, which resulted in her losing the match

**'Ouch.'**

**TAYLOR SWIFT.**, singer, describing how she felt when rapper Kanye West interrupted her acceptance speech for Best Female Video during the MTV Video Music Awards to complain that another nominee, Beyoncé, had "one of the best videos of all time"

**'Limits, like fears, are often just an illusion.'**

**MICHAEL JORDAN.**, in a Sept. 11 speech marking his induction into the Basketball Hall of Fame

**'I got my chance, and I didn't miss it.'**

**MUNTAZER AL-ZAIDI.**, the Iraqi man who threw his shoes at former President George W. Bush during a press conference last year, after being released from prison on Sept. 15

**'We're referring to it as the world's ultimate gated community.'**

**MATT GARRISON.**, the listing agent for a home located next door to President Obama's Chicago residence. The 6,000-sq.-ft. house, which is expected to sell for more than \$1 million, benefits from extra police patrols and Obama's Secret Service detail



## BACK & FORTH

### Media

**'Congratulations, Jaycee. You left the yard.'**

**MARK WHICKER.**, a columnist for the *Orange County Register*, in an article that highlighted the famous sports moments Jaycee Dugard missed while being held captive for 18 years by alleged kidnapper Phillip Garrido

**'I certainly don't think I mocked that woman.'**

**WHICKER.**, defending the column against virulent criticism

### Politics

**'This seat was set aside for people who look like me.'**

**SIDNEY CHISM.**, an African-American aide to former Memphis, Tenn., mayor Willie Herenton, who plans to challenge incumbent Steve Cohen, a white Democrat, in the 2010 primary for Cohen's seat in the state's largely black Ninth Congressional District

**'I vote like a black woman.'**

**COHEN.**, who is Jewish, arguing that as a member of a minority, he understands the pains of discrimination

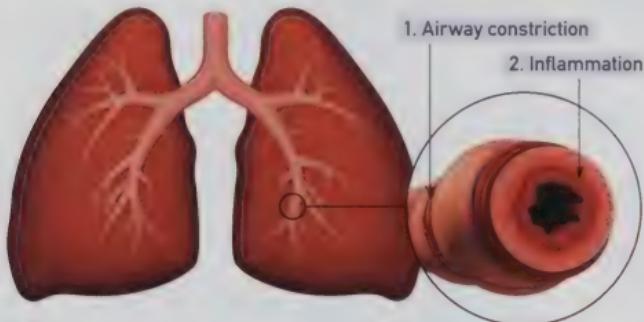
## LEXICON

**Premature tweeting** *n.*—  
Posting messages on Twitter before the facts are properly checked

**USAGE:** "In the process of reporting on remarks by President Obama that were made during a CNBC interview, ABC News employees prematurely tweeted a portion of those remarks that turned out to be from an off-the-record portion of the interview."

—ABC News, apologizing on Sept. 14 for revealing that Obama had called Kanye West a "jackass" for his awards-show stunt

# Asthma has 2 main causes. Treating both with ADVAIR® helps prevent symptoms.



If your symptoms keep coming back, it could be that  
your medicine\* can't treat both main causes of asthma.

ADVAIR treats both main causes to help prevent  
symptoms from occurring in the first place.



Get your first full prescription FREE! Go to [ADVAIR.com](http://ADVAIR.com) or call 1-800-513-5138.

\*ADVAIR contains 2 medicines; other products may contain just 1.

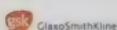
Subject to eligibility. Restrictions apply.

**Important Information About ADVAIR DISKUS.** Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR is for people who still have symptoms on another asthma controller, or need two controllers. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine.

Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. Do not use ADVAIR with long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists for any reason. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. Thrush in the mouth and throat may occur. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

Please see accompanying important information about ADVAIR DISKUS.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.  
Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.



If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit [plan4it.org](http://plan4it.org), or call 1-888-4PFA-NOW (1-888-473-2669).

**ADVAIR DISKUS™ 100/50**  
(fluticasone propionate 100 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

# **ADVAIR DISKUS®** 100/50, 250/50, 500/50 (fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

**What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?**

- In patients with asthma, long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, changes your chance of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol. Talk with your healthcare provider about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- **ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms.** Always have a fast-acting inhaler (short-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist medicine) with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.
- Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse.
- ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that another asthma-controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma-controller medicines.
- Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You may need different treatment.
- Get emergency medical care if:
  - breathing problems worsen quickly, and
  - you use your fast-acting inhaler, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.

**What is ADVAIR DISKUS?**

- ADVAIR DISKUS contains 2 medicines:

- fluticasone propionate (the same medicine found in FLOVENT™), an inhaled corticosteroid medicine. Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.  
- salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT™), a LABA. LABA medicines are used in patients with asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.

**Asthma**

ADVAIR DISKUS is used long term, twice a day, to control symptoms of asthma and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children ages 4 and older.

**Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD)**

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is used long term, twice a day, to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

**Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS?**

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

- To treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD
- If you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

## **Important Information**

This brief summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment.

**What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?**

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems      • have high blood pressure
- have seizures              • have thyroid problems
- have diabetes              • have liver problems
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and it can harm your baby
- are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products
- are exposed to chickenpox or measles

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take ritonavir. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir® (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, Norvir® (ritonavir oral solution), and Kaletra® (lopinavir/ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

### **How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?**

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

- Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider.
- Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. **Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed.** ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider will prescribe the one that is best for your condition.
- The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation twice a day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness.
- If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.
- While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS twice a day, do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your healthcare provider will adjust your medicines as needed.
- Make sure you always have a fast-acting inhaler with you. Use your fast-acting inhaler if you have breathing problems between doses of ADVAIR DISKUS.

**Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if:**

- your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS
- you need to use your fast-acting inhaler more often than usual
- your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row
- you use 1 whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week.

### **What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS?**

- See "What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?"

• Patients with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. **Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms:**

- increase in mucus (sputum) production
- change in mucus color
- increased breathing problems      - fever
- increased cough                      - chills

• **serious allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction, including:

- rash                      - swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue
- hives                      - breathing problems

- increased blood pressure      • chest pain
- a fast and irregular heartbeat      • headache
- tremor                      • nervousness
- weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections
- lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).

• **eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts.** You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS.

• **slowed growth in children.** A child's growth should be checked often.

**Other common side effects include:**

- hoarseness and voice changes      • throat irritation
- thrush in the mouth and throat
- respiratory tract infections

Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll-free) at 1-888-825-5249 or at [www.advar.com](http://www.advar.com).

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# Brief History

## Presidents and the Press



**B**ARACK OBAMA: THE INESCAPABLE PRESIDENT. FROM *Good Morning America* to televised town-hall meetings, ESPN to *Men's Health*, the leader of the free world misses few chances for free publicity. In his first six months in office, Obama gave three times as many interviews as either of his two immediate predecessors, according to the White House Transition Project. He's already held more prime-time news conferences than George W. Bush did in eight years.

Presidents weren't always so eager to meet the press. Thomas Jefferson had little use for the ink-stained wretches, believing newspapers offered "the caricatures of disaffected minds." During Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, reporters were forced to remain outside the White House gates, until Teddy took pity on them during a rainstorm (the voluble T.R. would later enjoy bantering with scribes while getting a shave). Many Presidents required the press to submit questions in writing and barred them from printing direct quotations; access was so limited the *New York Times*'s Arthur Krock won a Pulitzer for scoring a sit-down with FDR. Advances in technology have compelled recent leaders to engage with the media more often, albeit reluctantly. Dwight Eisenhower was the first to allow TV cameras into his press conferences; live telecasts, with all their pomp, began with JFK.

The press has only expanded since then, but savvy White House media teams now seize on tactics to reach voters directly. George W. Bush spoke before backdrops bearing the day's message (like STRENGTHENING OUR SCHOOLS or the notorious MISSION ACCOMPLISHED). And on Sept. 21, Obama becomes the first sitting President to grace David Letterman's couch—a day after he hits the Sunday-morning news shows. On five networks. —BY RANDY JAMES

### Thank you, Mr. President

Obama marks veteran reporter Helen Thomas' 89th birthday

### QUESTIONING AUTHORITY



**1961** John F. Kennedy's first press conference draws 65 million viewers. A poll found 90% of Americans saw at least one of the first three he held



**1981** Ronald Reagan playfully pretends not to hear reporters over the roars of Marine One. The Great Communicator was relatively insulated from the press



### True Compass

By Edward M. Kennedy  
Twelve; 532 pages

THE KENNEDY LEGACY HAS long rested on the shoulders of its two most glowing sons: *He Who Was President* (John) and *He Who Could Have Been* (Bobby). Yet it may be *He Who Never Was*—Teddy, the youngest in the nine-sibling Kennedy brood—who has had the most lasting impact. In this memoir, finished before he died of brain cancer on Aug. 25, the Massachusetts Senator draws on half a century's worth of journal entries and other notes to reconstruct a life full of seemingly endless tribulations. *True Compass* covers the violent deaths of his three older brothers, the unforgivable mess of Chappaquiddick and the tawdry William Kennedy Smith rape trial, while providing a picture of life in the claustrophobic Kennedy clan—an airtight hothouse of ambitious and competitive men and women. But it's clear that Kennedy hoped to be remembered best for his trailblazing Senate career, in which he championed legislation like the Voting Rights Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act. Long the runner up, Teddy has made a final, persuasive case for why he may actually be his family's greatest torch-bearer. —BY GILBERT CRUZ

READ  
SKIM  
TOSS

# Milestones



## Patrick Swayze

**HE HAD THE LOOKS AND THE moves.** As the star of some iconic films of the 1980s and '90s, Patrick Swayze, 57, brought intelligence and warmth to old-fashioned movie maleness. Then he played his toughest role, in a gritty, 20-month battle with pancreatic cancer that ended Sept. 14.

Swayze's father was a rodeo performer, his mother a choreographer who ran a dance studio in Houston. The actor took inspiration from both of them, playing athletic daredevils who were fast on their feet. After a stint in *Grease* on Broadway, he crashed Hollywood with roles as tough, sensitive older-brother types in *The Outsiders* and *Red Dawn* and found TV renown as the principled Southern soldier in the Civil War maxiseries *North and South*.

It was a small film that brought him stardom. In 1987's *Dirty Dancing*, he played a dance instructor at a Catskills resort, where a nice Jewish girl finds love and lust in his strong arms. Instantly, Swayze became the teen female's ideal of a rapturous first beau.



His audience grew up with *Ghost*, in which his character's early death can't keep him from returning in spirit to his beloved widow (Demi Moore) and making passionate love one last time. He would lend flesh and substance to a stereotype hero once more, finding urgent plausibility in *Point Break*'s surfer dude villain role.

Diagnosed with cancer in January 2008, he could have retreated from the public eye. Instead, he vowed to fight the disease, and between chemotherapy treatments he starred in the A&E cop show

*The Beast*. Attended by Lisa, his wife of 34 years, whom he'd met at his mom's dance studio, Swayze left this life with a grace and dignity befitting the men he had so often embodied. That's how heroes die.

—BY RICHARD CORLISS



## Norman Borlaug

**A SPECTER STALKED THE world in the 1960s:** the looming threat of mass starvation. As populations grew in the postwar years, farmers failed to keep pace—until the arrival of a humble plant scientist named Norman Borlaug.

In 1944, Borlaug—who died Sept. 12 at the age of 95—joined the Rockefeller

Foundation's effort to conquer hunger in Mexico. At the time, agricultural researchers were enhancing crop yields by bombing plants with nitrogen fertilizer. But they eventually discovered that the process made seed heads grow so big they would collapse in the



field. Nature seemed to have hit a wall.

In 1953, however, Borlaug found a wheat strain with a unique genetic trait: the stalk became stubby, but the seed heads would stay large. When Borlaug transferred the gene into tropical wheat, he created a plant that could yield huge heads of grain while maintaining stable growth rates. Using Borlaug's seeds, farmers could produce four times as much wheat per acre. The discovery ignited the Green Revolution that helped eradicate famine in much of the world and earned Borlaug the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize. His work saved hundreds of

millions of lives, and today half the world eats grains descended from his plants.

—BY BRYAN WALSH

## Jody Powell

**JODY POWELL**, who died Sept. 14 at 65, was the cooler of Jimmy Carter's two top young aides. (Hamilton Jordan was hotter, more passionate.) Powell was an excellent press secretary—funny, unflappable, totally devoted to the boss. He was the descendant of nine Civil War veterans and, as W.J. Cash wrote, he exemplified the breed: slouching, joking, undisciplined and brilliantly lethal.

—BY JOE KLEIN

## Larry Gelbart

**AS CO-CREATOR OF THE hit TV series *M\*A\*S\*H*,** Larry Gelbart, who died Sept. 11 at 81, perfected the careful art of blending drama and satire. In *M\*A\*S\*H*, he managed to humanize soldiers even as he illustrated the absurdity of war. His knack for imbuing punch lines with social commentary earned him Emmy and Tony awards as well as the accolades of legends like Bob Hope, Mel Brooks and Sid Caesar. Gelbart began his career at 16 after his father, a Hollywood barber, bragged to entertainer Danny Thomas about his son's gift for gags. After reading one batch of jokes, Thomas hired the precocious teen, who years later would say laughter was in his genes. Even after a false rumor circulated last year about his death, Gelbart maintained a sense of humor, quipping, "Does that mean I can stop exercising?" —BY M.J. STEPHEN



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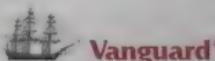
## Simple Truth: Investing isn't always easy, but it can be simpler



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James

# Poniewozik

## Socialized Nature! What Ken Burns' new Parks series says about the virtues of Big Government

**KEN BURNS HAS A KNACK FOR MAKING** documentaries about some of the most contentious episodes in American history without saying anything that will tick anyone off. Over two decades, his PBS films have taken on the Civil War, feminism, World War II and, above all, race. They've been criticized for omissions: Hispanics in *The War*, modern artists in *Jazz*. But on the whole, they're substantive without being polarizing, passionately arguing positions almost everyone agrees with: Racism is bad, democracy is good, war is hell.

His latest, six-part PBS series—*The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, which debuts Sept. 27—does not sound like an exception. Who's going to argue with a tree? And the opening minutes—luxuriating in dramatic shots of lava flows, stalactites and waterfalls—promise plenty of unobjectionable, pledge-drive-friendly nature porn. But in a way he couldn't have planned, Burns has ended up making his most topical and political film yet. With America frothing over the role of government—should it save banks? should it expand health coverage?—*The National Parks* makes a simple case for an idea that is wildly controversial in the year of the tea party: That we need government to do things the private sector can't or won't.

**The miniseries starts in the mid-19th century**, when nature lovers began urging that the expanding nation set aside areas of wilderness to remain undeveloped and unspoiled. Their cautionary tale was Niagara Falls, which by the 1860s was

**The film makes a simple case for an idea that is wildly controversial in the year of the tea party: That we need government to do things the private sector can't or won't**

"almost ruined"—overrun by hucksters and tourist traps, with nearly every good view privately owned. Unless the government acted, advocates like naturalist John Muir warned, Yosemite and Yellowstone would end up the same way. "To Europeans," reads narrator Peter Coyote, Niagara "was proof that the United States was still a backward, uncivilized nation."

Government intervention! Private-



sector-bashing! Americans trying to impress Europeans! These and other pinko motivations would secure a permanent federal handout for Yogi Bear and his picnic basket-redistributing comrades. You can imagine how the proposal might go down were the parks starting from scratch today. Socialized nature, controlled by tree czars?

And in the decades that followed, there were battles—with drillers, ranchers, developers—over and over (and over: *The National Parks* is gorgeous, but at 12 hours, it sometimes gives new meaning to the term *geologic time*). When FDR created Jackson Hole National Monument in 1943, a Wyoming Senator likened the plan to Pearl Harbor, while a local journalist compared it to Hitler's Anschluss.

Burns and writer Dayton Duncan make plain which side they're on. (The

subtitle is a hint.) A section on the battle to create a park in the Smoky Mountains contrasts schoolkids collecting pennies for the effort with logging companies bankrolling ads and "frantically cutting the old-growth forests ... to extract every thing they could before the land was closed to them." Speaking to critics this summer, Burns said, "If there were no national parks, [the Grand Canyon] would be a gated community."

The national parks—and *The National Parks*—are based on ideas that are classically, if not radically, communian: That the free market doesn't always act in the public interest. That it's good that

every American shares ownership of and responsibility for the most exclusive properties in the country. And that it is right for people—through government—to protect them from business interests and even from the people themselves (like the early visitors who shot game and scratched their names on ancient rocks). A series on a public-TV network that calls a government program America's best idea? Has no one alerted Rush Limbaugh?

Yet *The National Parks* seems unlikely to cause an outcry. Parks are not as costly as a bank bailout or as angst-inducing as health care, and who wants to be the one to throw a spitball at Old Faithful? The documentary cannily stops at 1980, avoiding the Ronald Reagan–James Watt era as well as today's drill-here, drill-now controversies. It helps too that one of the parks' most vigorous progressive advocates was a Republican—President Teddy Roosevelt.

But maybe it would be better if people were arguing over *The National Parks*. The film is an overstuffed love letter to America that tries—as the parks' architects also did—to unite people in connection with the heartbreakingly gorgeous land they share. Lyricists write about purple mountains' majesty for a reason: these vistas inspire introspection and humility. Maybe this film could do what town halls and presidential addresses haven't done—encourage us to debate what our country should be, and what makes America beautiful, without getting ugly.



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# Klein

## Why Are We in Helmand? The military's summer campaign in Afghanistan has been misguided and needs to be fixed—now

**THE U.S. MILITARY DOES NOT MOVE IN** mysterious ways. It plods, it plans, it plots out every logistical detail before launching an initiative. Things take time. For example: not all of the 21,000 additional forces that President Obama authorized for Afghanistan last winter have even arrived in the country yet. For another example: the battle plan those troops were asked to execute was devised primarily by General David McKiernan, who was replaced about the time the troops started arriving. McKiernan's plan reflected his experience in conventional warfare: he chose to deploy the troops where the bad guys were—largely in Helmand province on the Pakistani border, home of nearly 60% of the world's opium crop, a place that was firmly in Taliban control. But pursuing conventional warfare in Afghanistan is about as effective as using a football in a tennis match. The Army's new counterinsurgency doctrine says you go where the people are concentrated and protect them, then gradually move into the sectors the bad guys control. That is not what we're doing in Afghanistan. In addition to all the other problems we're facing—the corruption of the Karzai government, the election chaos, the porous Pakistani border—it has become apparent that we're pursuing the wrong military strategy in this frustrating war.

**Upon his arrival in Afghanistan as** McKiernan's replacement last June, General Stanley McChrystal was pretty much presented with a fait accompli: the troops were arriving in Helmand. "The ship was moving in that direction," a military expert told me, "and it would have

been difficult to turn it around." Indeed, it would have taken months of planning to change course. The additional troops were needed immediately to blunt the momentum of the Taliban and also to provide security for the Afghan elections. The trouble was, the troops would have been better deployed in Helmand's neighbor to the east—Kandahar province, especially in Kandahar city and its suburbs. "Kandahar is the center of gravity in this insurgency," says John Nagl, a retired lieutenant colonel who helped write the Army's counterinsurgency doc-



trine. "It is as important now as Fallujah was in Iraq in 2004."

Kandahar is the capital city of Afghanistan's Pashtun majority, home of both the Karzai family and Mullah Omar, leader of the Taliban. It is where the Taliban began. It has been run, in a staggeringly corrupt manner, by Hamid Karzai's brother Ahmed Wali Karzai—who, according to U.S. investigators, has extensive links to the opium trade. As the Karzai government has grown more unpopular, the situation in Kandahar has deteriorated. The Taliban own the night, slipping death threats under the doors of those who would cooperate with the government. In Iraq the military's counterinsurgency strategy turned around a similarly bleak urban situation—notably in Baghdad, where U.S. troops helped the Iraqis regain control of neighborhoods

by setting up and staffing joint security stations. But the troops who should be securing Kandahar are fighting an elusive enemy in Helmand.

What can be done now? The military will want more troops to paper over its strategic mistake. It will resist any suggestion to leave Helmand and redeploy to Kandahar. "That would be a death sentence for all the people in Helmand who have supported us," a military expert told me. It is a compelling argument but, ultimately, a flawed one; death sentences are being delivered every night in Kandahar. And remember the military's poky timetable: "We are trying to decide now how to redeploy the troops we already have in Afghanistan, the units that provided the security for the elections, for next spring's fighting season,"

a military planner told me. But even if all the troops sent to secure the election are redirected to Kandahar, there won't be enough.

**The Kandahar screwup adds considerable pressure to Obama's decision** about whether to double-down on a war he has called crucial to America's national security. The military wants a decision soon, but both the President and the Secretary of Defense are undecided—as they should be. Any decision about Afghanistan has to depend on whether the elections produce a plausible government—that is, one that includes Karzai's rivals, like Abdullah Abdullah and the excellent technocrat Ashraf Ghani, and removes from power allegedly corrupt elements, like Karzai's brother. And even then, the chance of success in Afghanistan is minimal.

An American with long experience in the country told me this story: a member of the Barakzai tribe was recently installed as a district leader in a Pashtun area. He was told to hire his top staff by merit. Instead, he hired only Barakzais—which caused the tribe's leaders to switch sides from the Taliban to the government ... and caused most of the other tribes in the district to switch from the government to the Taliban. Afghanistan, it turns out, befuddles even Afghans. And for foreigners, "victory" there is a handful of smoke.

**Pursuing conventional warfare in Afghanistan is about as effective as using a football in a tennis match**



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HUMIRA® is taken by injection and is available by prescription only.

HUMIRA® is not for everyone. Only your doctor can decide if HUMIRA® is right for you.

**Serious infections have happened in patients taking HUMIRA.** These infections include tuberculosis (TB) and infections caused by viruses, fungi, or bacteria that have spread throughout the body. Some patients have died from these infections. Your doctor should test you for TB before starting HUMIRA, and monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB during treatment with HUMIRA.

**Before starting HUMIRA:** You should not start taking HUMIRA if you have any kind of infection. Tell your doctor if you think you have an infection, are being treated for an infection, have signs of an infection (such as a fever, cough, or flu-like symptoms), have any open cuts or sores on your body, or get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back. Tell your doctor if you have diabetes, have TB or have been in close contact with someone with TB, were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is more risk for getting TB, live or have lived in certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys) where there is an increased risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis), or have or had hepatitis B, use the medicine Kineret (anakinra), or are scheduled to have major surgery. Tell your doctor if you have any numbness or tingling, or have a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barré syndrome, have heart failure or other heart conditions, are pregnant, become pregnant, plan to become pregnant or are breastfeeding. Tell your doctor if you are allergic to HUMIRA or any of its ingredients or are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle cover of the prefilled syringe and the pen contain dry, natural rubber. Also, tell your doctor if you have recently received or are scheduled for any vaccines. Except for live vaccines, patients may still receive vaccines while on HUMIRA. It is recommended that children with juvenile idiopathic arthritis be brought up to date with all immunizations prior to starting HUMIRA. After starting HUMIRA: **Call your doctor right away** if you have an infection, or any sign of an infection, including a fever, feeling very tired, cough, flu-like symptoms, warm, red or painful skin, or if you have any open cuts or sores on your body. HUMIRA can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse. **Possible side effects of HUMIRA:** Serious side effects, which sometimes lead to death, have happened in patients taking HUMIRA. **Serious infections:** These infections include TB and infections caused by

viruses, fungi, or bacteria. Your doctor will examine you for TB and perform a test to see if you have TB. If your doctor feels that you are at risk for TB, you may be treated with medicine for TB before you begin treatment with HUMIRA and during treatment with HUMIRA. Even if your TB test is negative your doctor should carefully monitor you for TB infections while you are taking HUMIRA. Patients who had a negative TB skin test before receiving HUMIRA have developed active TB. Tell your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms while taking or after taking HUMIRA: cough, low-grade fever, weight loss, or loss of body fat and muscle. **Certain types of cancer:** There have been cases of certain kinds of cancer in patients taking HUMIRA or other TNF blockers. Patients with RA, especially more serious RA, may have a higher chance for getting a kind of cancer called lymphoma. Some patients receiving HUMIRA have developed types of cancer called non-melanoma skin cancer (basal cell cancer and squamous cell cancer of the skin), which are generally not life threatening if treated. Tell your doctor if you have a bump or open sore that doesn't heal. **Allergic reactions:** Signs of a serious allergic reaction include skin rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing. **Hepatitis B virus reactivation in patients who carry the virus in their blood:** Tell your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms: feel unwell, poor appetite, fatigue, fever, rash, or joint pain. **Nervous system problems:** Signs and symptoms include: numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms or legs, and dizziness. **Blood problems:** Symptoms include a fever that does not go away, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale. **New heart failure or worsening heart failure you already have:** Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles or feet, or sudden weight gain. **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome:** Symptoms include chest discomfort or pain that does not go away, shortness of breath, joint pain, or rash on your cheeks or arms that gets worse in the sun. **Call your doctor or get medical care right away if you develop any of the above symptoms.** Your treatment with HUMIRA may be stopped. **Common side effects of HUMIRA are:** injection site reactions (redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising), upper respiratory infections (sinus infections), headaches, rash, and nausea. These are not all the side effects with HUMIRA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

## Important Safety Information You Should Know About HUMIRA® (adalimumab)

**Serious infections have happened in patients taking HUMIRA. These infections include tuberculosis (TB) and infections caused by viruses, fungi, or bacteria that have spread throughout the body. Some patients have died from these infections.** Your doctor should test you for TB before starting HUMIRA, and monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB during treatment with HUMIRA.

**Before starting HUMIRA:** You should not start taking HUMIRA if you have any kind of infection. Tell your doctor if you think you have an infection, are being treated for an infection, have signs of an infection (such as a fever, cough, or flu-like symptoms), have any open cuts or sores on your body, or get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back. Tell your doctor if you have diabetes, have TB or have been in close contact with someone with TB, were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is more risk for getting TB, live or have lived in certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys) where there is an increased risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis), or have or had hepatitis B, use the medicine Kineret (anakinra), or are scheduled to have major surgery. Tell your doctor if you have any numbness or tingling, or have a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barré syndrome, have heart failure or other heart conditions, are pregnant, become pregnant, plan to become pregnant or are breastfeeding. Tell your doctor if you are allergic to HUMIRA or any of its ingredients or are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle cover of the prefilled syringe and the pen contain dry, natural rubber. Also, tell your doctor if you have recently received or are scheduled for any vaccines. Except for live vaccines, patients may still receive vaccines while on HUMIRA. It is recommended that children with juvenile idiopathic arthritis be brought up to date with all immunizations prior to starting HUMIRA. After starting HUMIRA: **Call your doctor right away** if you have an infection, or any sign of an infection, including a fever, feeling very tired, cough, flu-like symptoms, warm, red or painful skin, or if you have any open cuts or sores on your body. HUMIRA can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse. **Possible side effects of HUMIRA:** Serious side effects, which sometimes lead to death, have happened in patients taking HUMIRA. **Serious infections:** These infections include TB and infections caused by

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Please see adjacent pages  
for product brief summary.

**HUMIRA**  
(adalimumab)

## CONSUMER BRIEF SUMMARY

CONSULT PACKAGE INSERT FOR FULL PRESCRIBING  
INFORMATION

### HUMIRA® (HU-MARE-AH)(adalimumab)

#### Patient Information

Read the Medication Guide that comes with HUMIRA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This brief summary does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment with HUMIRA.

#### What is the most important information I should know about HUMIRA?

HUMIRA is a medicine that affects your immune system. HUMIRA can lower the ability of the immune system to fight infections. Serious infections have happened in patients taking HUMIRA. These infections include tuberculosis (TB) and infections caused by viruses, fungi or bacteria that have spread throughout the body. Some patients have died from these infections.

- Your doctor should test you for TB before starting HUMIRA.
- Your doctor should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB during treatment with HUMIRA.

#### Before starting HUMIRA, tell your doctor if you:

- think you have an infection. You should not start taking HUMIRA if you have any kind of infection.
- are being treated for an infection
- have signs of an infection, such as a fever, cough, or flu-like symptoms
- have any open cuts or sores on your body
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes
- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB
- were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is more risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- live or have lived in certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys) where there is an increased risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis). If you do not know if you have lived in an area where histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis is common, ask your doctor.
- have or have had hepatitis B
- use the medicine Kineret (anakinra). You may have a higher chance for serious infections and a low white blood cell count when taking HUMIRA with Kineret.
- are scheduled to have major surgery

#### After starting HUMIRA, call your doctor right away if you have an infection, or any sign of an infection, including:

- a fever
- feel very tired
- a cough
- flu-like symptoms
- warm, red, or painful skin
- open cuts or sores on your body

HUMIRA can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse.

#### What is HUMIRA?

HUMIRA is a medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker. HUMIRA is used in adults or children (as indicated) to:

- **Reduce the signs and symptoms of:**
  - moderate to severe rheumatoid arthritis (RA) in adults. HUMIRA can be used alone or with methotrexate or with certain other medicines. HUMIRA may prevent further damage to your bones and joints and may help your ability to perform daily activities.
  - moderate to severe polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA) in children 4 years of age and older. HUMIRA can be used alone or with methotrexate or with certain other medicines.
  - psoriatic arthritis (PsA). HUMIRA can be used alone or with certain other medicines. HUMIRA may prevent further damage to your bones and joints and may help your ability to perform daily activities.
  - ankylosing spondylitis (AS)
  - moderate to severe Crohn's disease (CD) in adults who have not responded well to other treatments.
- **Treat moderate to severe chronic (lasting a long time) plaque psoriasis (Ps)** in adults who have the condition in many areas of their body and who may benefit from taking injections or pills (systemic therapy) or phototherapy (treatment using ultraviolet light alone or with pills).

People with these diseases have too much of a protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), in the affected areas of the body. HUMIRA can block the bad effects of TNF in those affected areas, but it can also lower the ability of the immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about HUMIRA?" and "What are the possible side effects of HUMIRA?"

#### What should I tell my doctor before taking HUMIRA?

#### Before starting HUMIRA, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have an infection. See "What is the most important information I should know about HUMIRA?"
- have any numbness or tingling or have a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barré syndrome.
- have heart failure or other heart conditions. If you have heart failure, it may get worse while you are taking HUMIRA.
- have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine. Patients receiving HUMIRA should not receive live vaccines. Except for live vaccines, patients may still receive vaccines while on HUMIRA. It is recommended that children with juvenile idiopathic arthritis be brought up to date with all immunizations prior to starting HUMIRA.
- are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle cover on the prefilled syringe contains dry natural rubber. Tell your doctor if you have any allergies to rubber or latex.
- are allergic to HUMIRA or to any of its ingredients. See the end of the Medication Guide for a list of ingredients in HUMIRA.

**Tell your doctor if you are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding.** HUMIRA should only be used during a pregnancy if needed. Women who are breastfeeding should talk to their doctor about whether or not to use HUMIRA.

**Pregnancy Registry:** Abbott Laboratories has a registry for pregnant women who take HUMIRA. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972.

**Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins and herbal preparations.** Especially, tell your doctor if you take Kineret (anakinra). You may have a higher chance for serious infections and a low white blood cell count when taking HUMIRA with Kineret. Also, tell your doctor if you are taking other medicines that suppress the immune system.

**Know the medicines you take.** Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

#### How should I take HUMIRA?

See the section, "How do I prepare and give an injection of HUMIRA?" at the end of the Medication Guide that comes with HUMIRA for complete instructions for use.

- HUMIRA is given by an injection under the skin. Your doctor will tell you how often to take an injection of HUMIRA. This is based on your condition to be treated. **Do not inject HUMIRA more often than prescribed.**
- Make sure you have been shown how to inject HUMIRA before you do it yourself. You can call your doctor or 1-800-4HUMIRA (448-6472) if you have any questions about giving yourself an injection. Someone you know can also help you with your injection.
- If you take more HUMIRA than you were told to take, call your doctor.
- Do not miss any doses of HUMIRA. If you forget to take HUMIRA, inject a dose as soon as you remember. Then, take your next dose at your regular scheduled time. This will put you back on schedule. To help you remember when to take HUMIRA, you can mark your calendar ahead of time with the stickers provided in the back of the Medication Guide.

#### What are the possible side effects with HUMIRA?

Serious side effects, which sometimes lead to death, have happened in patients taking HUMIRA, including:

- **Serious infections.** See "What is the most important information I should know about HUMIRA?"

Your doctor will examine you for TB and perform a test to see if you have TB. If your doctor feels that you are at risk for TB, you may be treated with medicine for TB before you begin treatment with HUMIRA and during treatment with HUMIRA. Even if your TB test is negative your doctor should carefully monitor you for TB infections while you are taking HUMIRA. Patients who had a negative TB skin test before receiving HUMIRA have developed active TB. Tell your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms while taking or after taking HUMIRA:

- cough that does not go away
- low grade fever

- weight loss
- loss of body fat and muscle (wasting)
- **Certain types of Cancer.**
  - There have been cases of certain kinds of cancer, in patients taking HUMIRA or other TNF blockers.
  - Some patients receiving HUMIRA have developed types of cancer called non-melanoma skin cancer (basal cell cancer and squamous cell cancer of the skin), which are generally not life-threatening if treated. Tell your doctor if you have a bump or open sore that doesn't heal.
  - Patients with RA, especially more serious RA, may have a higher chance for getting a kind of cancer called lymphoma.
- **Allergic reactions.** Signs of a serious allergic reaction include a skin rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.
- **Hepatitis B virus reactivation in patients who carry the virus in their blood.** In some cases patients have died as a result of hepatitis B virus being reactivated. Your doctor should monitor you carefully during treatment with HUMIRA if you carry the hepatitis B virus in your blood. Tell your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms:
  - feel unwell
  - poor appetite
  - tiredness (fatigue)
  - fever, skin rash, or joint pain
- **Nervous system problems.** Signs and symptoms of a nervous system problem include: numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms or legs, and dizziness.
- **Blood problems.** Your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help to stop bleeding. Symptoms include a fever that does not go away, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale.
- **New heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have.** Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles or feet or sudden weight gain.
- **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include chest discomfort or pain that does not go away, shortness of breath, joint pain, or a rash on your cheeks or arms that gets worse in the sun. Symptoms may go away when you stop HUMIRA.

**Call your doctor or get medical care right away if you develop any of the above symptoms. Your treatment with HUMIRA may be stopped.**

#### **Common side effects with HUMIRA include:**

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising. These symptoms usually will go away within a few days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away within a few days or gets worse, call your doctor right away.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (including sinus infections)
- **Headaches**
- **Rash**
- **Nausea**

These are not all the possible side effects with HUMIRA. Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

#### **General information about HUMIRA**

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use HUMIRA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give HUMIRA to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.

This brief summary summarizes the most important information about HUMIRA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about HUMIRA that was written for healthcare professionals.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information go to [www.HUMIRA.com](http://www.HUMIRA.com) or you can enroll in a patient support program by calling 1-800-4HUMIRA (448-6472).

Ref: 03-A205-R18

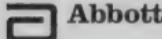
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# The Agitator

Glenn Beck is channeling the fears and anger of Americans who feel left out—but is he also stirring that anger and heightening those fears?

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

Rabblerouser  
Spurred on by Beck,  
conservatives converge  
on Washington Sept. 12



**O**N SEPT. 12, A LARGE CROWD GATHERED IN Washington to protest...what? The goals of Congress and the Obama Administration, mainly—the cost, the scale, the perceived leftist intent. The crowd's agenda was wide-ranging, so it's hard to be more specific. END THE FED, a sign read. A schoolboy's placard denounced OBAMA'S NAZI YOUTH MILITIA. Another poster declared, WE THE PEOPLE FOR CAPITALISM NOT SOCIALISM. If you get your information from liberal sources, the crowd numbered about 70,000, many of them greedy racists. If you get your information from conservative sources, the crowd was hundreds of thousands strong, perhaps as many as a million, and the tenor was peaceful and patriotic. Either way, you may not be inclined to believe what we say about numbers, according to a recent poll that found record-low levels of public trust of the mainstream media.

At any rate, what we can say with confidence is that Deanna Frankowski was there. A cheery woman of 49 from Leeds, Ala., Frankowski said she had come to Washington as part of a group of 100 or more protesters. They filled two buses. And they were motivated by a concern about runaway government spending—that, plus an outraged feeling that their views as citizens are not being heard. "We are sick and tired of being ignored," she said. "There is too much money being spent."

Frankowski has been hit hard by the economic turmoil of the past year. Short of funds to make the trip, she painted an American flag on a pane of glass and asked people at her church to chip in toward her expenses, with one of them taking home the flag. She would like to share a house with her soon-to-be-husband, but first she must figure out how to get free of the house she has—the one with the underwater mortgage. Some left-leaning writers argue that people in her boat must be deluded to oppose Barack Obama, but Frankowski is skeptical that her interests are being served by trillions in new government interventions. So she said, "I've paid my mortgage every month. And I'm getting no help. I'm just saying. Let capitalism work." Then she added, "We just want people to listen to us and care."

One person listens, Frankowski believes, and that's why back home in Alabama she arranged to have 10 large signs made on white foam board, nine of them marked with a big letter and the tenth with WE and a heart. Raised aloft, the signs spelled out WE ♥ G L E N N B E C K .

Glenn Beck: the pudgy, buzz-cut, weeping phenomenon of radio, TV and books. Our hot summer of political combat is turning toward an autumn of showdowsns over some of the biggest public-policy initiatives in decades. The creamy notions of postpartisan cooperation—poured abundantly over Obama's presidential campaign a year ago—have curdled into suspicion and feelings of helplessness. Trust is a toxic asset, sitting valueless on the national books. Good faith is trading at pennies on the dollar. The old American mind-set that Richard Hofstadter famously called "the paranoid style"—the sense that Masons or the railroads or the Pope or the guys in black helicopters are in league to destroy the country—is aflame again, fanned from both right and left. Between the liberal fantasies about Brownshirts at town halls and the conservative concoctions of brainwashed children goose-stepping to school, you'd think the Palm in Wash-

# Paranoid Politics. A timeless theme of Them vs. Us



## 1798

### ILLUMINATI SCARE

Prominent New England ministers warn of a plot by Illuminati—a secret society of European intellectuals—to destroy Christianity and overthrow all governments

## 1820s

### ANTI-MASONIC MOVEMENT

Freemasons are condemned for participating in secret societies; the Anti-Masonic Party is formed in opposition

## 1950s

### 1850s

#### KNOW-NOTHING PARTY

Also known as the American Party, the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant Know-Nothings fear that American Catholics are more loyal to the Pope than to the U.S.



## 1951

#### MCCARTHYISM

Senator Joseph McCarthy says, "Men high in this government are concealing to deliver us to disaster," and launches a probe into communist subversion in the U.S.—one that ultimately ends in his disgrace

## 1930s

### FATHER CHARLES COUGHLIN

Sermons of the "Radio Priest" attack capitalists and communists alike, rail against Jews and accuse FDR of being a tool of wealthy bankers. At their peak, his radio broadcasts reach some 40 million



## 1958

### JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

According to society founder Robert Welch,

ington had been replaced with a Munich beer hall.

No one has a better feeling for this mood, and no one exploits it as well, as Beck. He is the hottest thing in the political-rant racket, left or right. A gifted entrepreneur of angst in a white-hot market. A man with his ear uniquely tuned to the precise frequency at which anger, suspicion and the fear that no one's listening all converge. On that frequency, Frankowski explained, "the thing I hear most is, People are scared."

### Fears of a Clown

BECK IS 45, TIREDLESS, FUNNY, SELF-DEPRECATING, A RECOVERING ALCOHOLIC, A CONVERT TO MORMONISM, A LIBERTARIAN AND LIVING WITH ADHD. HE IS A GIFTED STORYTELLER WITH A KNACK FOR STITCHING SEEMINGLY UNRELATED DATA POINTS INTO POSSIBLE CONSPIRACIES—if he believed in conspiracies, which he doesn't, necessarily; he's just asking questions. He's just sayin'. In cheerful days of yore, he was a terrific host of a morning-zoo show on an FM Top 40 station. But these aren't cheerful times. For conservatives, these are times of economic uncertainty and political weakness, and Beck has emerged as a virtuoso on the strings of their discontent. Rush Limbaugh, with his supreme self-confidence, holding forth with "half my

"both the U.S. and Soviet governments are controlled by the same furtive conspiratorial cabal of internationalists, greedy bankers and corrupt politicians." By late 1961, the society gains up to 100,000 members



## 1993 SIEGE AT WACO, TEXAS

A 51-day standoff between Branch Davidians and federal agents ends with a fire that kills nearly 80 people. The government blames the cult's leader, David Koresh, for setting the blaze, but skeptics cite "evidence" that the feds are responsible

## 1995 OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols orchestrate an explosion at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, partly in retaliation for the siege at Waco



## 2001 WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACKS

After terrorists kill nearly 3,000 in attacks on New York City and Washington, conspiracy theories surface on the Internet. Leftist "truthers" suggest that the Bush Administration was behind the attacks as a pretext to invade Iraq



## 2009 "BIRTHER" MOVEMENT

Fringe right-wing groups contend that Barack Obama was not born on American soil and therefore cannot legally be President



## 1963

### JFK ASSASSINATION

The Warren Commission points to a single gunman, but conspiracists spin cover-up theories that persist to this day



## 1972

### WATERGATE

The break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters exposes a pattern of paranoid behavior by the Nixon White House—and fuels Americans' mistrust of government



all-too-sincere leftists in the Obama Administration are plotting the same. On a slow news day, Beck fears that the Rockefeller family installed communist and fascist symbols in the public artwork of Rockefeller Center. One of his Fox News Channel colleagues, Shepard Smith, has jokingly called Beck's studio the "fear chamber." Beck countered that he preferred "doom room."

On the recent anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Beck grew afraid that Americans may no longer be the sort of people who cross mountain ranges in covered wagons and toss hot rivets around in bold bursts of skyscraper-building. Tears came to his eyes (they often do) as he voiced this last fear. But then he remembered that the fiber of ordinary Americans is the one thing Glenn Beck need never fear. So he squared his quivering chin to the camera and held up a snapshot of ground zero, still empty eight long years after the World Trade Center was destroyed.

And he said, "Let me tell you something. I believe that if it were up to you or me, just regular schmoes in America, the Freedom Tower would have been done years ago. And it wouldn't have been the Freedom Tower; it would have been the Freedom Towers—because we would've built both of these towers back the way they were before! Except we would've built them stronger! We would've built them in a way that they would've resisted attack. And you know what? My guess is they would've been 25 stories taller, with a big, fat COME AND TRY THAT AGAIN sign on top. We would've built it with our bare hands if we had to, because that's what Americans do. When we fail, when we face a crisis, we pull ourselves up and make things better. I believe the only reason we haven't built it isn't because of Americans. It's because we're being held back. And who is holding us back? Politicians. Special-interest groups. Political correctness. You name it—everybody but you."

Beck describes his performances as "the fusion of entertainment and enlightenment"—and the entertainment comes first. "Like Limbaugh, Glenn Beck is a former Top 40 DJ," radio historian Marc Fisher explains, "first and foremost an entertainer, who happens to have stumbled into a position of political prominence." Unlike Limbaugh, however, Beck is a "radio nostalgic," in love with the storytelling power of a man with a microphone. He started in radio at age 13, inspired by a recording of golden-age broadcasts given to him by his mother—who later committed suicide, leaving the young Beck deeply traumatized. "He loves radio," says his longtime producer and on-air sidekick Stu Burguiere. "The way the mind becomes its own theater and the listener engages in the medium with you, drawing their own pictures in their heads." Beck once lovingly re-created the 1938 Orson Welles classic *War of the Worlds* for XM Satellite Radio, and he named his production company Mercury Radio Arts in homage to Welles' Mercury Theatre on the Air.

As melodrama, it's thumping good stuff. But as politics, it's sort of a train wreck—at once powerful, spellbinding and uncontrolled. Like William Jennings Bryan whipping up populist Democrats over monied interests or the John Birch Society brooding over fluoride, Beck mines the timeless theme of the corrupt Them thwarting a virtuous Us. This flexible narrative often contains genuinely uncomfortable truths. Some days "they" are the unconfirmed policy "czars" whom

brain tied behind my back just to make it fair," found his place as the triumphant champion of the Age of Reagan. Macho Sean Hannity captured the cocky vibe of the early Bush years, dunking the feckless liberal Alan Colmes for nightly swirls on the Fox News Channel. Both men remain media dynamos, but it is Beck—nervous, beset, desperate—who now channels the mood of many on the right. "I'm afraid," he has said more than once in recent months. "You should be afraid too."

His fears are many—which is lucky for him, because Beck is responsible for filling multiple hours each day on radio and TV and webcast, plus hundreds of pages each year in his books, his online magazine and his newsletter. What's this rich and talented man afraid of? He is afraid of one world government, which will turn once proud America into another France. He is afraid that Obama "has a deep-seated hatred for white people"—which doesn't mean, he hastens to add, that he *actually* thinks "Obama doesn't like white people." He is afraid that both Democrats and Republicans in Washington are deeply corrupt and that their corruption is spreading like a plague. He used to be afraid that hypocritical Republicans in the Bush Administration were killing capitalism and gutting liberty, but now he is afraid that

I'm  
afraid.  
You  
should  
be afraid  
too.'

Beck fears Obama is using to subvert constitutional government—and he has some radical-sounding sound bites to back it up. Some days “they” are the network of leftist community organizers known as ACORN—and his indictment of the group is looking stronger every day. But he also spins yarns of less substance. He tells his viewers that Obama’s volunteerism efforts are really an attempt to create a “civilian national-security force that is just as strong, just as powerful as the military.” While scouring Obama and the Democratic Congress, Beck takes pains to say that the ranks of the nation’s would-be oppressors know no party. In his recent instabook—*Glenn Beck’s Common Sense*, a huge best seller, with more than 1 million copies moved in less than four months—he wrote, “Most Americans remain convinced that the country is on the wrong track. They know that SOMETHING JUST DOESN’T FEEL RIGHT but they don’t know how to describe it or, more importantly, how to stop it.” The book’s pox-on-both-parties populism evokes the quixotic campaigns of Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot, but with an eerie sound track.

He is having an impact. Along with St. Louis, Mo., blogger Jim Hoft, whose site is called Gateway Pundit, Beck pushed one of Obama’s so-called czars, Van Jones, to resign during Labor Day weekend. Jones, whose task was to oversee a green-jobs initiative, turned out to be as enchanted by conspiracies as Beck—he once theorized that “white polluters and the white environmentalists” are “steering poison into the people-of-color’s communities” and signed a petition demanding an investigation into whether the Bush Administration had a hand in the 9/11 attacks. On Sept. 14 the Senate overwhelmingly voted to cut off all federal funds to ACORN, and the U.S. Census Bureau severed its ties to the organization. This followed Beck’s masterly promotion of a series of videos made by two guerrilla filmmakers who posed as a pimp and prostitute while visiting ACORN offices around the country. The helpful community organizers were taped offering advice on tax evasion and setting up brothels for underage girls.

By affirming its suspicions and assuaging its sense of powerlessness, Beck bonds with his rapidly growing audience. “I continue to be amazed by the power of everyday Americans,” Beck said after Jones resigned. What the Obama adviser called a “smear campaign” against him was, Beck said, simply “honest questioning.” And there’s more to come, he warned: “Judging by the other radicals in the Administration, I expect that questioning will continue for the foreseeable future.”

### The Profit Motive

WE TELL OURSELVES A TALE IN AMERICA, AND YOU CAN read it in Latin on the back of a buck: *E pluribus unum*. Many people from many lands, made one in a patriotic forge. And there’s truth in that story—it conjures powerful pictures in the theater of our national mind. But

**I don’t trust a single weasel in [D.C.]—I don’t care what party they’re from.’**



**You lie!**  
Wilson's impulsive outburst has become a fundraising bonanza for both sides

it can also be misleading. Lots of Americans can’t stand one another, don’t trust each other and are willing—even eager—to believe the worst about one another. This story is as old as the gun used by Vice President Aaron Burr to kill his political rival Alexander Hamilton. And it’s as new as the \$1 million-plus in fresh campaign contributions heaped on Republican Representative Joe Wilson of South Carolina after he hollered “You lie!” at the President during a joint session of Congress. Anger and suspicion ebb and flow through our history, from the anti-Catholic musings of the 19th century Know-Nothing Party to the truth-seekers and birthers of today.

We’re in a flood stage, and who’s to blame? The answer is like the estimates of the size of the crowd in Washington: Who do you trust? Either the corrupt, communist-loving traitors on the left are causing this, or it’s the racist, greedy warmongers on the right, or maybe the dishonest, incompetent, conniving media, which refuse to tell the truth about whomever you personally happen to despise.

But we can all agree that—no matter where it comes from—rubbing the sore has become a lucrative business. The mutual contempt of the American extremes draws crowds and fattens wallets at bookstores, cable news departments, AM radio stations and documentary film fests. Wilson’s campaign kitty is just one example, and a fairly modest one at that. (His opponent, Democrat Rob Miller, also raked in \$1 million in new donations thanks to the outburst.) Michael Moore makes far more than that with his capitalist-bashing movies. The new Senator from Minnesota, Al Franken, cashed in handsomely with his conservative-taunting books. Or check out Beck Inc. to see how loudmouthing can earn you a river of cash.

There are bigger one-voice enterprises in the world: Oprah, Rush, Dr. Phil. But few are more widely diversified. In June, estimators at *Forbes* magazine pegged Beck’s earnings over the previous 12 months at \$23 million, a ballpark figure confirmed by knowledgeable sources, and this year’s revenues are on track to be higher. The largest share comes from his radio show, which is heard by more than 8 million listeners on nearly 400 stations—one of the five biggest radio audiences in the country. Beck is one of only a handful of blockbuster authors who have reached No. 1 on the *New York Times* best-seller lists with both nonfiction and fiction. (Among the others: John Grisham, Patricia Cornwell and William Styron. Unlike them, however, Beck gets a lot of help from his staff.) His latest book, *Arguing with Idiots*, will be published this month, and if things go as expected, it will be the third No. 1 with his name on the front published in the past 12 months. Taking a page from Stephen King—who once called Beck “Satan’s mentally challenged younger brother”—Beck recently entered into a partnership with Simon & Schuster that pays him a share of profits rather than a traditional author’s royalty, and he plans to create a range of books

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for every audience, from children to teens to adults.

His website claims 5 million unique visitors per month; his weekly podcast is seen by 1.5 million people each week. Between them, he draws at least \$3 million annually online. He has an online magazine, Fusion; a newsletter that touts Beck merchandise; and a tradition of live performances—a blend of stand-up comedy and political monologues—that have drawn more than 200,000 fans in recent years. The finale of his most recent tour was simulcast in some 450 movie theaters across the country.

Lured by the Fox News Channel from CNN's Headline News channel last year, Beck has lit up the 5 p.m. slot in a way never thought possible by industry watchers, drawing upwards of 3 million viewers on some recent days. Indeed, despite his late-afternoon start, he sometimes beats even Bill O'Reilly, Fox's prime-time behemoth, in key ratings demographics. The value of his Fox contract is reliably said to be about \$2 million per year.

With a staff of about 25 employees at Mercury and 10 or so at Fox, Beck Inc. is doing its part to jump start the economy. And there are ancillary industries feeding on the success of Beck and others like him. Both left- and right-wing not-for-profit groups operate as self-anointed media watchdogs, and one of the largest of these—the liberal group Media Matters for America—has a multimillion-dollar budget. Staff members monitor Beck's every public utterance, poised to cherry-pick the most inflammatory sentences. (Conservative outfits do the same for the likes of MSNBC's Keith Olbermann.) These nuggets are used in turn to rev up donations to political parties and drive ratings for the endless rounds of talking-head shows.

The inevitable question is, How much of this industry is sincere? Last year, shortly after the election, Beck spoke with TIME's Kate Pickert, and he didn't sound very scared back then. Of Obama's early personnel decisions, he said, "I think so far he's chosen wisely." Of his feelings about the President: "I am not an Obama fan, but I am a fan of our country... He is my President, and we must have him succeed. If he fails, we all fail." Of the Democratic Party: "I don't know personally a single Democrat who is a dope-smoking hippie that wants to turn us into Soviet Russia." Of the civic duty to trust: "We've got to pull together, because we are facing dark, dark times. I don't trust a single weasel in Washington. I don't care what party they're from. But unless we trust each other, we're not going to make it."

How can we trust each other, though, when the integrated economy of ranters and their delighted-to-be-outraged critics are such a model of profitability? A microphone, a camera and a polarizing host are all it takes to get the money moving. Because audiences have been so widely fragmented by the new technology, ratings that would have gotten a talk-show host canceled in the late 1980s create a superstar today. (In 1987 comedian David Brenner bombed in syndication

## 'Most Americans remain convinced that the country is on the wrong track ... but they don't know how to stop it.'



**Lighting up Fox**  
Beck on the set of his early-evening show, which draws some 3 million viewers

**A Day in the Life  
Of Glenn Beck**  
See behind-the-scenes photos of the TV and radio host at [time.com/glenbeck](http://time.com/glenbeck)

with about 2.5 million viewers at midnight—which is roughly what Fox, the leading network for political talk shows, averages in prime time.)

Extreme talk, especially as practiced by a genuine talent like Beck, squeezes maximum profit from a relatively small, deeply invested audience, selling essentially the same product in multiple forms. The more the host is criticized, the more committed the original audience becomes. And the more committed the audience, the bigger target it presents to the rant industry on the other side of the spectrum. A liberal group called Color of Change has organized an advertiser boycott of Beck's TV show—great publicity for the group and a boon to Beck's ratings.

If it's *E pluribus unum* you're looking for, try *America Idol*.

## **Mad as Hell**

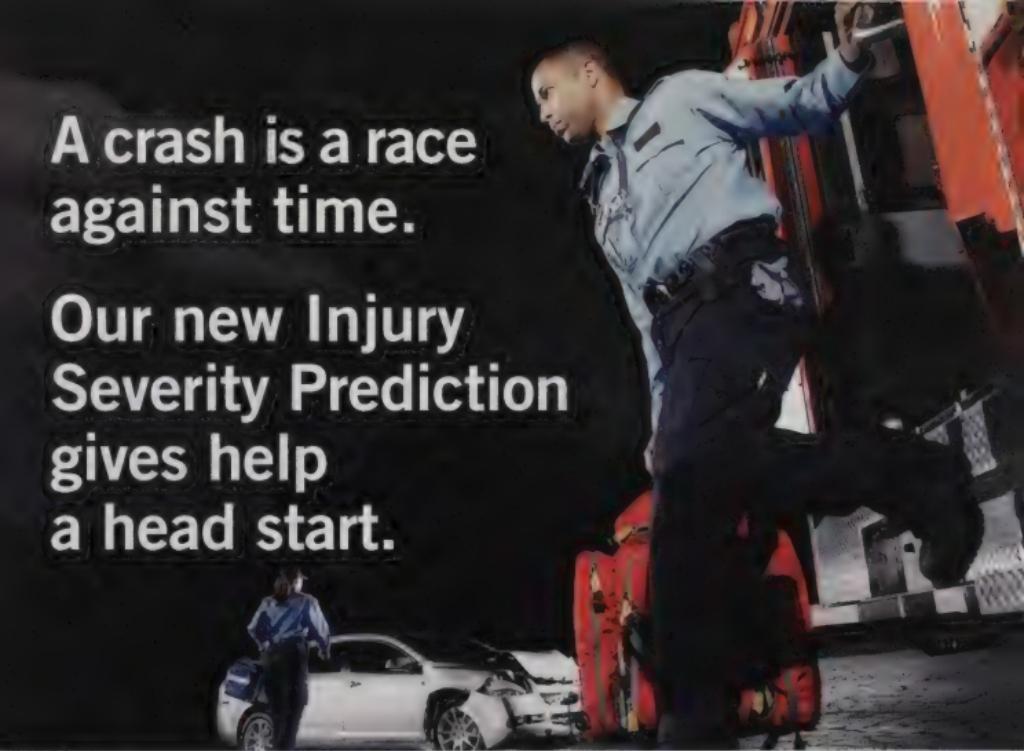
STARTING AFTER THE ELECTION AND CONTINUING into spring, pollster Frank Luntz conducted a survey of some 6,400 Americans, and the first question was whether they agreed with this statement: "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it anymore." Nearly 3 out of 4—72%—said yes.

Movie buffs might appreciate this, because when Beck gets rolling on a particularly emotional riff, when the tears glisten and the shoulders shudder, Paddy Chayefsky, the great leftist playwright, looks like a prophet. He's the man who coined the phrase that, according to Luntz, is the rare thing Americans can agree on. He gave the line to Howard Beale, the mad anchorman at the center of the dark satire *Network*.

Chayefsky imagines cynical television executives who create a ratings sensation out of the nightly rants and ravings of Beale. The host energizes the nation with his cry, "I'm as mad as hell, and I'm not going to take this anymore!" It's hard to find a film that better captures the rotten vibe of the early 1970s, when America found itself suffering through one downer after another: failing companies, tense foreign relations, high unemployment, rampant incivility, spiraling deficits, corruption in high places, a seemingly endless war. Sound familiar?

Beck often cites Beale as an inspiration and a tribute for our own times. "I think that's the way people feel," he told an interviewer. "That's the way I feel"—like the fist-shaking, hair-pulling Beale. Whether channeled by a playwright on the left or a talk show host on the right, anger and distrust can be dramatized and monetized. But do they ever really go anywhere?

The trouble with this prophecy is that we never find out what happens to the people watching Beale. Do they stay mad forever? Does their screaming ever lead to something better? Does the rage merely migrate, sending new audiences with new enemies to scream from more windows? And if the time comes when every audience is screaming, who, in the end, is left to listen? —WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL SCHERER



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# Who's Afraid of The Flu?

For the first time in history, the world is fighting a pandemic flu *before* it becomes a full-fledged catastrophe. But the real battle is the one in our heads

BY AMANDA RIPLEY

**T**HE BRAIN LOATHES UNCERTAINTY. In laboratory experiments, humans actually fear uncertainty more than physical pain. We are simply wired this way. When we encounter uncertainty, the first thing we do is try to beat it back. The problem is, uncertainty may not be the biggest threat. It may be a distraction—the kind we have to cope with while we do the actual work of keeping ourselves alive.

Hayden Henshaw, 18, got sick on a Tuesday in late April. He was at his high school in Cibolo, Texas, just outside San Antonio, when he came down with a fever of 103°F (39°C) and felt nauseated. Three days later, his doctor confirmed he had a mysterious new strain of swine flu that had just hit the U.S.—a virus that would eventually be labeled H1N1 or 2009.

As word spread that three students at Hayden's school had the new flu, people in his town began trying to stamp out the uncertainty. It was an unsatisfying endeavor. Health officials came to Hayden's house and asked him dozens of questions. Had he been to Mexico lately? (No.) Had he had contact with any pigs? (No.) That weekend, Texas health officials closed all 14 schools in Hayden's district, sending 11,000 children home. Workers wiped down the school district's 100-plus buses. At Cibolo city hall, employees posted signs asking

residents to pay their utility bills at a drop box instead of coming inside. Garbage collectors donned face masks. At the time, no one knew how deadly the virus was—or how many people had it.

Hayden and his family handled this storm of ambiguity with relative grace. Hayden complained only about being stuck inside. "After a while, TV got boring, and then games got boring, and then there was nothing to do," he says. His parents were worried but also grateful that health officials were taking the matter seriously. "Nobody knew how bad anything was going to get," his father Patrick remembers, "but at least we were together."

Other people, however, seemed to want more drama out of the story. Early on, the family agreed to do a local TV-news interview—to show that they were "just a normal family with a virus," as Patrick puts it. Then the national shows started calling. "What was it like when you found out you had swine flu?" a CNN anchor asked Hayden. He replied, in a teenager's deadpan, "I mean, it's just the flu. I just went through it normally." Producers asked the family to wear face masks on camera, even though health officials had told them that wasn't necessary. Meanwhile, regular people, some of them friends, started acting strangely toward the Henshaws. Their immediate neighbors and their friends from



church were generous and helpful. But other neighbors crossed the street before walking in front of the Henshaw house. When Hayden's prom got postponed, disappointed classmates accused his family of exploiting the situation, making money off TV interviews. "Hayden was beaten up really bad on the Internet," his dad says. "He asked me, 'What did I do wrong?'"

To make sense of the situation, some people needed a villain. Bloggers accused pharmaceutical companies of intentionally concocting the virus in order to sell vaccines. On one website, conspiracy theorists researched public records about the Henshaws and deduced that they were



actually victims of radiation poisoning—possibly from a dirty bomb smuggled in through Mexico. As things turned out, Hayden's school reopened about a week later. To make up for the lost time, school officials canceled final exams. With that, Hayden's classmates found it in their hearts to forgive him. The summer brought a new consensus about H1N1 flu to Cibolo. "Now people say, 'Ah, it's no big deal. They blew everything out of proportion,'" says Patrick, who's still a bit mystified by the whiplash of reactions—from paranoia to complacency in a fortnight.

It would all be a surreal memory for Ci-bolo and the rest of America, if only it were

## Overreaction

In May, a bus entering Argentina from Chile is stoned by people who think a passenger has swine flu.

## Underreaction

More than 60% of Americans are not worried about themselves or anyone else in their family getting H1N1 flu, according to a late-August CNN/Opinion Research Corp. poll.

over. Instead, Hayden's case is a flare in the darkness, a warning that as the nation begins its second big battle with a strange flu virus, we are up against a threat that we are not particularly skilled at overcoming, one that provokes an extreme range of emotions—from fear to indifference—none of which are all that helpful. The battle ahead is psychological as much as it is medical. And although we have heard a great deal about the importance of washing our hands, the real challenge may be in how to live with what we don't know.

Today, Americans are being told to brace themselves for explosions of flu, shuttered schools, mass vaccinations and

tens of thousands of deaths—or perhaps not. Are the media to blame for the confusion? Absolutely. But no more than usual. What about the government? So far, officials have done a relatively decent job of explaining what they know and what they don't and planning for the worst. "It's going to be a unique flu season. The only thing certain is uncertainty," says Dr. Thomas Frieden, director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). "Even with the best efforts, influenza will cause severe illness and, tragically, some death."

Pandemic diseases have a way of revealing our vulnerabilities in quick order. Already we have been humbled by the virus's exploitation of our fragmented health-care system, as families without insurance overwhelm emergency rooms, schools flounder without nurses, and people without a sick-leave option choose between going to work with a raging fever or getting fired. At the University of Washington, some 2,000 students have reported having H1N1 symptoms. At Emory University in Atlanta, sick kids are relocated to a dorm dubbed Club Swine. But H1N1 has also homed in on the weaknesses in our heads—hovering in the blind spots where our risk analyses break down, just beyond the view of our mind's eye. What is the defense for the mind games of a virus?

### A Pre-Emptive Strike

MEDICALLY SPEAKING, WE ARE FAR BETTER prepared than we used to be. In 1918, when many of our grandparents were children, another pandemic influenza killed more than 50 million people. Like the current one, the 1918 virus was a type of flu called

### Overreaction

"I wouldn't go anywhere in confined places now." —Vice President Joe Biden on NBC's *Today* show, April 30

### Underreaction

In August, U.S. soccer star Landon Donovan feels sick but still travels to Mexico City to play a World Cup qualifying game. He gets test results confirming H1N1 the next day

Territorial Health Officials. "We just have to be comfortable with that."

Here's what we know: in the coming days, as the weather cools and children warehouse germs in school, many more Americans than normal may become sick with the flu. Everyone will probably know someone who is sick. (Most will never know for sure if they had H1N1, but if they had a fever, cough, sore throat, runny or stuffy nose, body aches, headache, chills and fatigue, that will be a safe assumption.) People under age 25 are more likely to get sick. Most who get it will be quite ill for about a week and then recover, assuming the virus doesn't mutate. Most cases will not require treatment.

Here comes the first asterisk: nearly half the country—pregnant women, children and everyone with asthma, diabetes, heart disease or kidney disease—will face a higher risk of getting seriously sick.

Second asterisk: the virus could become far more deadly at any time.

The asterisks help explain why, in October, the government will ask more of the public. The CDC, along with state and local health officials, will launch the most ambitious mass vaccination campaign in U.S. history. This will be a new vaccine since the regular vaccine for seasonal flu will offer no protection against H1N1. But because it is being produced exactly like the seasonal-flu vaccine that manufacturers make every year, it is relatively predictable. It will have been studied in clinical trials, which are going on now, and so far, it appears that the risks of serious side effects are extremely low. That said, given rising skepticism about vaccines worldwide and a particularly dysfunctional health-care-distribution system in the U.S., the campaign will be hugely challenging. Whether it works will depend partly on science and partly on our ability to navigate the shadowy negotiations going on inside our heads.

### How We Manage Risk

OVER THE PAST 50 YEARS, RESEARCHERS who study human judgment have realized that we rely on emotions to make decisions about risk. We can't possibly mull over every new piece of data our brains collect, so our emotions give us shortcuts, helping us make split-second judgments about that information. The more uncertainty, the more shortcuts we use. This is a good thing. People who have suffered brain damage that removes emotions from their calculations cannot function. They can't make decisions, even simple ones. So we need our emotions to make sense of the world. But our emotions also can lead us astray—particularly when we encounter



an exception to a lifetime's worth of rules.

The brain's shortcuts come with certain predictable biases. In experiments, people reliably overestimate the chances of something happening if they can vividly imagine it. If we see something new, we try to fit it into a box that we understand—for example, a box labeled MILD: THE SAME AS REGULAR INFLUENZA. Or maybe, more cinematically, PLAGUE INVADING THE HEARTLAND, or perhaps another one called MEDIA HYPE. All those boxes contain parts of the story. None is quite right.

But how you sort and compartmentalize all the information about swine flu will probably determine whether you take it seriously, ignore it or begin freebasing hand sanitizer to get through the day. As with all viruses, influenza's only function is to replicate itself. It makes you sneeze so it can infect a new host and reproduce. When it encounters resistance, it changes. For the brain, this is maddening: How do we capture a threat that routinely escapes from one box and reappears in another?

To further confuse matters, influenza is inconsistent. It may lay siege to one town and leave the next untouched. That too perplexes the brain. We wonder why one school system shuts down and another stays open. We can't identify a pattern that makes sense.

So far, this strain of H1N1 has proved blessedly mild. So far, at least, many people get it; not many die. But *mild* is a tricky word. "Mild, when you're talking about flu, can still be dangerous," says Michael Shaw, a microbiologist at the CDC who has been working with influenza for 30 years. "It may be mild in the majority of cases, but the more cases you have, the more chances you have of infecting someone for whom it will not be mild. There are lots of kids with asthma."

The vaccine will pose a special dilemma for everyone measuring the risks this fall. We already know there will not be enough vaccine for everyone right away. So the priority will be to vaccinate high-risk people, such as those with chronic conditions like diabetes. But high-risk people tend not to think of themselves that way. "They feel fine. They go to work and take care of their kids. They don't define themselves day to day as someone with asthma," says Dr. Anne Schuchat, director of the CDC's National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases.

Psychologists call this the Lake Wobegon effect—after the fictitious Minnesota town invented by Garrison Keillor, who described it as a place "where all the women are strong, all the men are good-looking and all the children are above average." We all tend to be overconfident about our-



selves in surprising ways. About 90% of drivers think they are safer than the average driver. Most people also think they are less likely than others to get divorced, have heart disease or get fired. Likewise, according to a late-August poll by CNN/Opinion Research Corp., more than 60% of Americans surveyed said they were not worried about themselves or anyone else in their family getting swine flu.

In June the CDC organized 15 focus groups in three cities to discuss the public's impressions of the new flu so far. The participants had all heard of the virus, but they had a lot of questions. In an Atlanta group, the organizers had people read a news story about a real-life, healthy teenage girl from Milwaukee who had caught H1N1 in the spring and died. The group reacted with intense discomfort, and then did what humans do: they looked for a way to fit it

## Overreaction

Egyptian authorities kill hundreds of thousands of pigs this spring—before a single case of H1N1 is diagnosed in the country

## Underreaction

"The government shouldn't be in the medical business." —Ron Paul, physician, former presidential candidate and current Texas Congressman, criticizing the government's response to H1N1 on April 30

into one of the boxes in their mind. Some speculated that the girl's doctor must have made a mistake and that's why she died. Another woman wondered if perhaps the girl had been doing whippets—inhaling nitrous oxide—and that had contributed to her death. If we tell ourselves that we can prevent catastrophe by avoiding whippets, then we have reduced the uncertainty. But we haven't reduced the risk.

## Will We Tune Out?

SO WHAT IS THE MOST SENSIBLE WAY FOR US to calibrate the risks posed by H1N1? This summer, public health authorities have worried almost as much about people's risk-benefit equation as they have about the virus. Dr. Karen Remley, health commissioner for Virginia, has noticed that most people seem to fall into one of two categories when it comes to H1N1. "There's a group of people who think it's all gone and over," she says. "There's a group who say, 'Armageddon is going to happen!' The trick is getting people to the middle." Research into human decision making has shown that if people feel as though they can influence their destiny, they tend to make smarter choices. But if authorities warn them not to panic (as President Obama has done), people may make worse decisions. They feel more frightened—not less—and wonder what they don't know that might make them panic. "Never tell people not to worry. That's really, really bad," Dr. Richard Besser, former acting director of the CDC,

said at a recent government flu conference. "You can tell immediately in the body language, if you've ever said that to someone. When they do this"—he leaned back in his chair, crossing his arms over his chest—"then you lost 'em."

If the nation's most informed public-health experts do not share their best guesses, people will find worse information somewhere else. "People cannot make rational decisions without knowledge," says Dr. Sandro Galea, director of the Center for Global Health at the University of Michigan. "And knowledge has to flow centrally. Absent that, you will have a flow of mythologies."

Health agencies have bombarded the public with guidance on how to prepare for the virus. But people who study risk have advice of a different sort. They recommend seeking out information and not relying on emotion alone. Often, the best information can be found by checking with multiple sources—the kind that don't always agree. Come up with a plan for how you might stay home with your children for a week, if need be. Give your brain something to do. Be careful about relying too much on TV news, a highly emotional medium. The brain can stagnate if it marinates in fear for too long.

Should you get sick, consider the advice of those who have come before you.

Hayden Henshaw and his family, who suffered through the early days of the flu in Texas, talk most about the challenges of staying at home—as a family—for days on end. "It sounds real easy, but that's not the way it works," says his father. "I hated it when I was doing it," says Hayden. "I was inside for like three weeks straight." Stock up on games, movies, books and extreme levels of tolerance. Sometimes the gravest threats are the ones we know all too well. ■

*Ripley, a TIME contributor, is the author of The Unthinkable: Who Survives When Disaster Strikes—and Why*

## Pandemic Primer

With flu season beginning early this year, here's how you can navigate the fall and winter ahead

### THE SYMPTOMS

If you catch the flu, you may not be able to tell whether you have 2009 H1N1 or the seasonal variety, since they both make you sick with the same symptoms, including:

**Fever**  
**Cough**  
**Sore throat**  
**Runny or stuffy nose**  
**Body aches**  
**Headache**  
**Chills**  
**Fatigue**  
**Diarrhea**  
**Vomiting**

### TREATMENTS

**Tamiflu**  
Most effective in the first 48 hours of illness, the drug works against symptoms of the new H1N1, but seasonal flu is resistant to it

**Relenza**  
Not for young children but effective against both seasonal and 2009 H1N1 flu

### THE VACCINE

When the shot becomes available, around mid-October, the CDC recommends that the following people be first in line:

**Pregnant women**  
**Those in households with babies 6 months old or younger**

**Health-care workers**  
**Everyone from 6 months to 24 years old**

**People ages 25 to 64 with conditions like asthma**



### Wash Your Hands

Keeping your hands clean can stop viruses that are living and breeding around you from causing infection.



### Cover Your Cough

Block sneezes and coughs with your sleeve or, if you have one, a tissue, and wash your hands afterward.



### Avoid Touching Your Eyes

And your nose and mouth. They aren't covered by skin and can pick up the virus more easily.



### If You Are Sick, Stay Home

Sick people are hubs for spreading flu, so limiting contact with others can keep the number of cases down.



### Parents

Health officials stress that you should keep your kids home only if they are sick. H1N1 of 2009 does not seem to cause illness that's any worse than seasonal flu. In addition to getting them vaccinated against both seasonal and H1N1 flu, teach your kids basic hygiene habits, which can go a long way in preventing the spread of the virus. If your child gets sick, keep him home for 24 HOURS AFTER THE FEVER BREAKS ON ITS OWN, without the help of medication.



### Schools and Businesses

So far, it appears that the H1N1 season will not cause wide-scale shutdowns of schools or businesses. But to control the spread of the disease, the CDC is advising that schools use SEPARATE ROOMS where sick students can wait until they go home to recuperate. In the room, these students should be GIVEN MASKS to wear until they leave.



### Health-Care Workers

Getting vaccinated will be your best defense, since health-care workers will most likely be in contact with people who are sick with 2009 H1N1. In most cases, health officials do not recommend masks, suggesting instead that you maintain a DISTANCE OF SIX FEET from those who are ill. In cases where closer care is required, clinicians may consider using a RESPIRATOR MASK that filters out viruses circulating in the air.

**And Don't Forget:**  
**Throw away your used tissues, and at home, try to use a separate bathroom that is cleaned daily with disinfectant, if possible**



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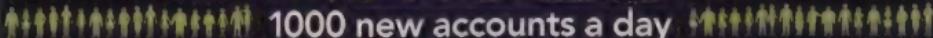
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# The Bailout's Biggest Flaw

The government's epic intervention after Lehman's bankruptcy averted disaster. But that success made it harder to address what ailed the financial system in the first place.

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BY JUSTIN FOX

**L**AST SEPT. 15, THE VENERABLE investment-banking firm of Lehman Brothers—saddled with a lot of dud real estate investments and unable to persuade its jittery creditors to keep lending it money—filed for bankruptcy protection. It was the largest bankruptcy ever in the U.S., but the really big news was what happened afterward. First came a financial panic that threatened to shatter the global capitalist order, followed by an unprecedented—and unprecedently expensive—effort by governments on both sides of the Atlantic to patch things up.

You already knew all this, of course. It happened just last year, and in recent weeks, the news media have engaged in an orgy of commemoration and explanation of the Lehman collapse and its aftermath. So here's the \$64 trillion question: What, if anything, have we learned?

Three main lessons present themselves. First, the lightly regulated global financial system that has evolved over the past three decades is dangerously fragile. Second, the U.S. government is capable of keeping a financial panic from snowballing into a complete economic disaster. Third, the government has not yet shown itself to be capable of doing much of anything to make the financial system less collapse-prone in the future. (There's a link, by the way, between the government's failure in No. 2 and its success in No. 1.)

First, the fragility, a.k.a. risk. A year ago, officials at the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve didn't think letting Lehman go bankrupt would be a disaster. Those same officials have since argued that the law gave them no choice. But it's also clear that the authorities—then Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson, in particular—didn't want to intervene. The Fed and Treasury had taken a lot of flak for their earlier bailouts of Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. It was time to let the market work.

Within days of Lehman's failure, it was apparent that the market wasn't up to the task. There was a run on money-market funds after the Reserve Fund (which had pioneered the money-fund business in 1970) revealed that it owned a lot of suddenly worthless Lehman debt. London-based hedge funds that relied on Lehman for day-to-day financing found themselves unable to do business. Similar dislocations played out around the world, and financial institutions became paralyzed by fear and confusion. They simply didn't trust one another anymore and didn't want to lend to one another. The system couldn't handle the stress of a major failure.

That brings us to lesson No. 2. Early in the Great Depression, powerful voices at Treasury and the Fed argued that financial crisis was a necessary corrective. "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate," Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon advised President Herbert Hoover. "It will purge the rotteness out of the system." This time around, after Lehman went under, no one at Treasury or the Fed talked that way. Instead, policymakers in the U.S. and overseas agreed that the panic had to be stopped at any cost. And it was, through a bailout that placed trillions of taxpayer dollars at risk. It was expensive, messy and unfair. It struck many people as un-American. But it worked. "I've abandoned free-market principles to save the free-market system" is how President George W. Bush described it last December.

Mission accomplished—so far, at least. In the face of a financial shock probably worse than the stock-market crash of 1929, massive government intervention averted a second Great Depression. Yes, we still got the worst economic downturn the U.S. has seen since. But while there are surely lots of potholes and wrong turns



## The roots of a crisis—and how to prevent the next one



**Too much debt**  
Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner has been pushing his counterparts in the G-20 group of nations, which meets in Pittsburgh, Pa., this month, for a global tightening of capital standards. That should reduce the amount of debt that banks take on. In the meantime, overextended American households have been cutting back on their own.



#### Too big to fail

The problem of firms so giant and complex that their failure endangers the financial system is one the Obama team hopes to address by making the Federal Reserve a systemic-risk regulator and creating a "resolution regime" for troubled financial institutions. But the big have only gotten bigger, and bolder ideas like forced breakups of oversize firms are getting nowhere.

#### Regulatory confusion

The U.S. has two financial-market regulators, four federal banking regulators and 50 state banking and insurance regulators. What's being done to rationalize this inconsistent and ineffective supervisory setup? Not much—and even the minor attempts at consolidation that have been proposed have the existing regulators drawing battle lines in Washington.

#### Global imbalances

The strange financial dependency between the U.S. and China—we bought their products; they bought our debt—has been fingered as a major culprit of the financial crisis. There's been a lot of talk about breaking that cycle. So far, other than a U.S.-China trade tiff over tires, there's been little action.

ahead, the economy—both in the U.S. and worldwide—appears to be in the early stages of a rebound. We have decisions made by government officials to thank for that.

Then again, it was decisions made by government officials in the years before the crisis that allowed things to get so bad. From ill-considered deregulation of banking and derivatives to over-the-top encouragement of homeownership, Washington's fingerprints are all over the crisis. Almost nothing has been done to right these wrongs. That's lesson No. 3. Put another way: it's really hard for a democracy to make big changes in the absence of a big crisis—and the big crisis has passed.

President Barack Obama warned in a speech on Wall Street Sept. 14 that "normalcy cannot lead to complacency." But normalcy is leading to complacency. Consider the financial reforms that Obama's Administration wants to push through Congress: the big ones are creating a Consumer Financial Protection Agency, giving the Federal Reserve the job of systemic-risk regulator and establishing a "resolution regime" to wind down troubled nonbank financial institutions (like Lehman) and complex bank holding companies. Steps in the right direction? Probably. Truly major reforms? Not so much—and even they may not win congressional approval.

In the months after Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in 1933, Congress legislated a transformation of the financial sector, establishing a new regime of securities regulation, creating the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and segregating commercial banks from Wall Street. It's not obvious that we need such a drastic overhaul now, but the contrast with the 1930s is stark. Ironic, too. By leaving financial markets alone, Mellon and his kindred spirits at the Fed ushered in an economic collapse that led to permanent government intervention in the financial sector. By intervening, Paulson and his kindred spirits at the Fed seem to have headed off a re-enactment of the New Deal.

There's been a trade-off. By keeping the recession from turning into a depression, the bailouts kept millions of people from ruin. But this success may have made it impossible to fix what ailed the financial system in the first place, which could eventually bring ruin to even more millions. The future is uncertain, so there's a lot to be said for solving today's real problems rather than obsessing about tomorrow's hypothetical ones. The trouble is that they won't stay hypothetical forever. ■



**The summer of hate** In August 1961, West Berliners peer over the newly constructed Wall at an East German border guard

# Germany's Unfinished Business

Almost 20 years after the Berlin Wall fell, Germany is about to hold elections. The country has come a long way—but not far enough

BY CATHERINE MAYER/BERLIN

In December 1961, Waltraud Niebank stood in East Berlin's Pankow Cemetery. Her husband lived in the western section of the city, and a few months before, their life, the cemetery—and Berlin—had been divided by a cinder-block barrier, part of a fortification some 100 miles (160 km) long that would eventually consist of reinforced-concrete panels, a second fence and a "death strip" patrolled by snipers. Berliners came to know it simply as *die Mauer*—the Wall. That night, Niebank scurried through a passage that led from an open grave to rejoin her husband, and she still chokes with fear and anger from the memory of what she endured to leave the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.). "It was so painful," she says. "I never wanted to look at the Wall again."

That simple sentiment—revulsion for the Wall and all it represented—proved powerful enough to reunify Niebank's fractured nation. After Nov. 9, 1989, when the G.D.R. abandoned border controls, the drive for unity provided a purpose that



**Underground movement** An escape organization helped Niebank flee the G.D.R. through a tunnel concealed in a grave in this cemetery

shaped national politics. Reunification was Germany's greatest achievement of the past century—greater, even, than its reinvention after 1945 as an economic powerhouse. But as Germany prepares for an election just before the 20th anniversary of that magical night in 1989, the fall of the Wall has become a metaphor for not only what Germany can do, but also what it has left undone, for opportunities missed.

Germany is Europe's most populous nation, the world's fourth largest economy and second biggest exporter and, notwithstanding a bitter division over the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, a key ally of the U.S. But in the run-up to the election, there has been no ambitious new mission, no vision of remaking Germany—or Europe, or the world—on view. Germany could have taken a lead in ensuring that the E.U. nations came together to weather the worst economic downturn in 70 years. It did not. Instead, the government fretted that fiscal stimuli would fuel inflation and pushed for a deal on the future of GM-owned car-

maker Opel that may save German jobs at the expense of those elsewhere in Europe. Germany has contributed 4,000 troops to the NATO mission in Afghanistan. Yet there is deepening unease about the war, epitomized by the widespread concern after it was revealed that the U.S. planes that bombed fuel trucks hijacked by the Taliban in Kunduz province—allegedly killing civilians—had been summoned by a German commander. Thirty-five Germans have died in Afghanistan since 2001, a number that has shocked a nation that thought its troops were in Afghanistan as peacemakers and has been surprised that they have had, on occasion, to make war.

The strongest impulse in German politics is to hold the country steady as she goes. The electoral system typically produces consensus-driven administrations like the current grand coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats led by Chancellor Angela Merkel, a Christian Democrat. But the search for consensus can mean that difficult problems are left

unaddressed, which gives an opening to parties outside the political center. When the horse-trading after the election is done, it is highly unlikely that the new government will include Die Linke (the Left), a party formed by western socialists and remnants of the G.D.R. communists. But Die Linke, which is vehemently opposed to the Afghan war, is expected to do well in the eastern states. Twenty years after the Wall came down, Ossis (easterners) vote differently from Wessis (westerners). They still earn less and are more likely to be unemployed than are Wessis. According to a recent survey by the eastern-German charity Volkssolidarität, no fewer than 1 out of 10 Ossis would still like to live in the G.D.R.

Germany's obstinate gulf between east and west—division that Germans call “a wall in the head”—is perhaps the most obvious sign of its unfinished business. As you walk around the path the Wall once took, its shadow reveals troubling fractures in German society. You notice, for example, that people sweeping streets or cleaning



**Fighting talk** Germany's increasingly controversial military deployment in Afghanistan is dominating debate as Chancellor Merkel campaigns for re-election



toilets are easterners or immigrants. Yet curiously, in geographic terms, *Ossis* and *Wessis* have traded places. After reunification, the poor were shunted into the high-rise apartments of districts like Wedding, in the west, as rich Berliners swooped to renovate the crumbling 19th century housing of Prenzlauer Berg, in the east. The east is now "where people want to live," says Axel Klausmeier, an architectural historian. "There's a social border in place of the physical one. It continues to shock me."

A mental border too. Klausmeier is the director of the Berlin Wall memorial, where plans are being drawn up for a window to commemorate not just those who died trying to flee the east but also eight G.D.R. border guards killed on duty. Including the guards has been deeply controversial, but then modern Germans have always had a problem with their history. For much of the period after World War II, both the G.D.R. and West Germany resisted serious examination of their collective culpability for Nazism.

A similar failure to confront the truth about the G.D.R.—its violent repression and the extent to which East Germans accepted and sometimes aided the regime—expresses itself in *Ostalgia*, a rose-tinted nostalgia for a G.D.R. that never was. Doubtless, it is understandable that many *Ossis*, for whom life in a reunified Germany hasn't always proved kind, yearn for the old order. "This is a throwaway culture. When you buy bread, it goes so hard, you have to cut off the edges, and it gets moldy really quickly," says an elderly *Ossi* working as a toilet attendant in the museum on the site of the old Checkpoint Charlie.

Her current job pays badly ("Don't ask"), and she has to spend her money on prescription glasses and hearing aids. Things would have been different—better—in the G.D.R., she says. But there's something awkwardly dark about *Ostalgia*. Hubertus Knabe—the director of Hohen-schönhausen, once a G.D.R. prison, now a memorial—argues that the success of Die Linke in the eastern states reveals a form of amnesia. "It's a very human quality to whitewash the past," he says. "It means one can't learn from history."

### Divisions and Democracy

IF THE DIVISIONS BETWEEN OSSIS AND WESSIS remain, so do those between Germans and immigrants, and the German-born descendants of them. *Ossis* sometimes feel especially threatened by immigration; the Volkssolidarität survey in July found that 41% of *Ossis* were hostile to foreigners. In fact, it is Germany's immigrant communities, not *Ossis*, that have been hurt most by reunification. Unemployment in Berlin as a whole is 14%, but among its 200,000-strong Turkish community, it hovers around 50%. "Turks came here to work," says Hilmil Kaya Turan, a local entrepreneur and community leader, thinking back to when Germany was short of labor. "And there was work. But it changed very quickly after the Wall came down." As *Ossis* moved west in search of jobs, Turks found themselves ousted and isolated. "We applauded as the Wall fell," remembers Turan. "But now we say, 'The Wall fell on us.'"

Yet just as you despair that Germany can never escape its divisions, old and

new, something reminds you of this nation's resilience. The track of the Berlin Wall crosses the River Spree close to the Reichstag—opened in 1894, when Germany was a young nation-state, and later burned as the Nazis took power. The building is now home to a thriving democracy. The Chancellery, nearby, is occupied by Merkel, the first woman and first *Ossi* to lead Germany, and polls indicate she will still be there after the elections—her low-key pragmatism in tune with her country.

It is worth remembering that Germany has achieved much since reunification—stability, democracy, prosperity. Sour *Ossis* and disaffected immigrant communities do not threaten to create a new Weimar or revive the nihilism that scarred the 1970s. Muslims in Germany, for example, have for the most part rejected the siren calls of jihadism.

It is because Germany has done so much that its friends—including those in the U.S.—wish it would do more. The palpable concern over the Afghan adventure speaks to something bigger than just regret over lives lost: a worry that such a visible engagement in global geopolitics will unsettle the good life that Germans have come to expect. But no nation as big and rich as Germany can stand back and watch the world while feathering its own nest. Polls suggest voters may reinstall the current government, signaling a continuation of the cautious politics, at home and abroad, that has typified life since the grand days after 1989. Germany deserves bigger, bolder ideas than that. So do those who wish it well.

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# Where Wikipedia Ends

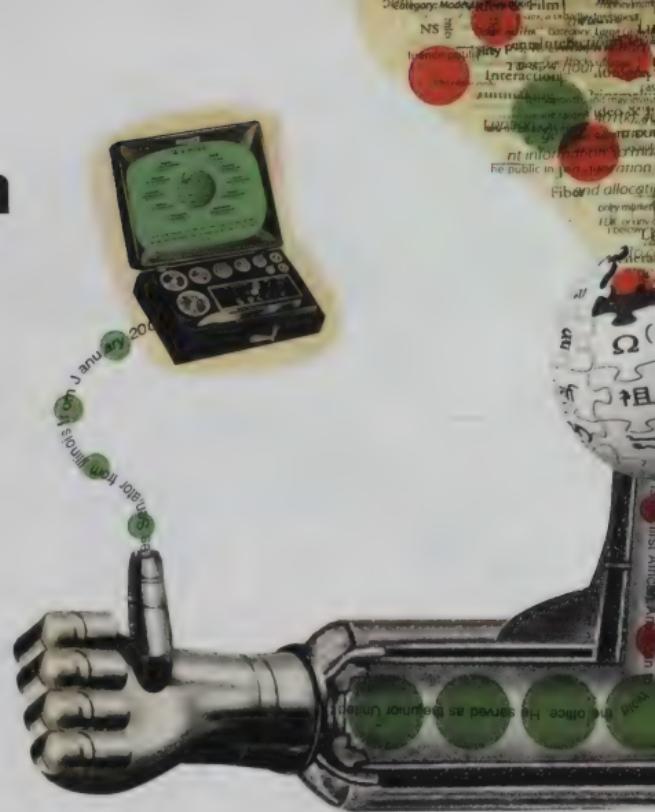
The online encyclopedia is suddenly adding fewer articles and has fewer editors. Has all knowledge been summarized, or does Wiki have a problem?

BY FARHAD MANJOO

**L**OOKING BACK, IT WAS NAIVE TO expect Wikipedia's joyride to last forever. Since its inception in 2001, the user-written online encyclopedia has expanded just as everything else online has: exponentially. Up until about two years ago, Wikipedians were adding, on average, some 2,200 new articles to the project every day. The English version hit the 2 million-article mark in September 2007 and then the 3 million mark in August 2009—surpassing the 600-year-old Chinese *Yongle Encyclopedia* as the largest collection of general knowledge ever compiled (well, at least according to Wikipedia's entry on itself).

But early in 2007, something strange happened: Wikipedia's growth line flattened. People suddenly became reluctant to create new articles or fix errors or add their kernels of wisdom to existing pages. "When we first noticed it, we thought it was a blip," says Ed Chi, a computer scientist at California's Palo Alto Research Center whose lab has studied Wikipedia extensively. But Wikipedia peaked in March 2007 at about 820,000 contributors; the site hasn't seen as many editors since. "By the middle of 2009, we realized that this was a real phenomenon," says Chi. "It's no longer growing exponentially. Something very different is happening now."

What stunted Wikipedia's growth? And what does the slump tell us about the long-term viability of such strange and invaluable online experiments? Perhaps



that the Web has limits after all, particularly when it comes to the phenomenon known as crowdsourcing. Wikipedians—the volunteers who run the site, especially the approximately 1,000 editors who wield the most power over what you see—have been in a self-reflective mood. Not only is Wikipedia slowing, but also new stats suggest that hard-core participants are a pretty homogeneous set—the opposite of the ecumenical wiki ideal. Women, for instance,

make up only 13% of contributors. The project's annual conference in Buenos Aires this summer buzzed with discussions about the numbers and how the movement can attract a wider class of participants.

At the same time, volunteers have been trying to improve Wikipedia's trustworthiness, which has been sullied by a few defamatory hoaxes—most notably, one involving the journalist John Seigenthaler, whose Wikipedia entry falsely stated that he'd been a suspect in the John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy assassinations. They recently instituted a major change, imposing a layer of editorial control on entries about living people. In the past, only articles on high-profile subjects like Barack Obama were protected from anonymous revisions. Under the new plan, people can freely alter Wikipedia articles on, say, their local officials or company head—but those changes will become live only once they've been vetted by a Wikipedia administrator. "Few articles on Wikipedia are more

**About 820,000 people contributed to Wikipedia in March 2007. That was the peak; the site hasn't seen as many editors since**



stuff. But once others had entered historical sketches of every American city, taxonomies of all the world's species, bios of every character on *The Sopranos* and essentially everything else—well, what more could they expect you to add? So the only stuff left is esoteric, and it attracts fewer participants because the only editing jobs left are “janitorial”—making sure that articles are well formatted and readable.

Chi thinks something more drastic has occurred: the Web's first major ecosystem collapse. Think of Wikipedia's community of volunteer editors as a family of bunnies left to roam freely over an abundant green prairie. In early, fat times, their numbers grow geometrically. More bunnies consume more resources, though, and at some point, the prairie becomes depleted, and the population crashes.

Instead of prairie grasses, Wikipedia's natural resource is an emotion. “There's the rush of joy that you get the first time you make an edit to Wikipedia, and you realize that 330 million people are seeing it

important than those that are about people who are actually walking the earth,” says Jay Walsh, a spokesman for the Wikimedia Foundation, the nonprofit that oversees the encyclopedia. “What we want to do is find ways to be more fair, accurate, and to do better—to be nicer—to those people.”

Yet that gets to Wikipedia's central dilemma. Chi's research suggests that the encyclopedia thrives on chaos—that the more freewheeling it is, the better it can attract committed volunteers who keep adding to its corpus. But over the years, as Wikipedia has added layers of control to bolster accuracy and fairness, it has developed a kind of bureaucracy. “It may be that the bureaucracy is inevitable when a project like this becomes sufficiently important,” Chi says. But who wants to participate in a project lousy with bureaucrats?

There is a benign explanation for Wikipedia's slackening pace: the site has simply hit the natural limit of knowledge expansion. In its early days, it was easy to add

live,” says Sue Gardner, Wikimedia Foundation's executive director. In Wikipedia's early days, every new addition to the site had a roughly equal chance of surviving editors' scrutiny. Over time, though, a class system emerged; now revisions made by infrequent contributors are much likelier to be undone by elite Wikipedians. Chi also notes the rise of wiki-lawyering: for your edits to stick, you've got to learn to cite the complex laws of Wikipedia in arguments with other editors. Together, these changes have created a community not very hospitable to newcomers. Chi says, “People begin to wonder, ‘Why should I contribute anymore?’”—and suddenly, like rabbits out of food, Wikipedia's population stops growing.

The foundation has been working to address some of these issues; for example, it is improving the site's antiquated, often incomprehensible editing interface. But as for the larger issue of trying to attract a more diverse constituency, it has no specific plan—only a goal. “The average Wikipedian is a young man in a wealthy country who's probably a grad student—somebody who's smart, literate, engaged in the world of ideas, thinking, learning, writing all the time,” Gardner says. Those people are invaluable, she notes, but the encyclopedia is missing the voices of people in developing countries, women and experts in various specialties that have traditionally been divorced from tech. “We're just starting to get our heads around this. It's a genuinely difficult problem,” Gardner says. “Obviously, Wikipedia is pretty good now. It works. But our challenge is to build a rich, diverse, broad culture of people, which is harder than it looks.”

Before Wikipedia, nobody would have believed that an anonymous band of strangers could create something so useful. So is it crazy to imagine that, given the difficulties it faces, someday the whole experiment might blow up? “There are some bloggers out there who say, ‘Oh, yeah, Wikipedia will be gone in five years,’ ” Chi says. “I think that's sensational. But our data does suggest its existence in 10 or 15 years may be in question.”

Ten years is a long time on the Internet—longer than Wikipedia has even existed. Michael Snow, the foundation's chairman, says he's got a “fair amount of confidence” that Wikipedia will go on. It remains a precious resource—a completely free journal available to anyone and the model for a mode of online collaboration once hailed as revolutionary. Still, Wikipedia's troubles suggest the limits of Web 2.0—that when an idealized community gets too big, it starts becoming dysfunctional. Just like every other human organization. ■



**Cowboys or giants?** From some seats at the new Cowboys Stadium the players may look small, but on the 160-ft.-long screen they're larger than life



SPORT

# How 'Bout That Stadium?

The Dallas Cowboys have a big new home. Team owner Jerry Jones says it's the face of the future. He may be right—for better or worse

BY RICHARD LACAYO/ARLINGTON

JERRY JONES, TEXAS BILLIONAIRE, hands-on owner of the Dallas Cowboys and prime mover behind his team's massive, glittery and very expensive new stadium, can tell you exactly the words he wants people to think when they first get a good look at it: *the future*.

That sounds about right, because the future may well be what his stadium represents—and not just because it has lots of glass and exposed steel and none of the corny nostalgic touches that baseball parks go in for these days. Jones didn't want a stadium that would just look like the future. He wanted one that would shape it, or at least shape the future of football, a game that for most people is something seen only on television. Jones thinks more of those people should be coming out to games—preferably the ones his team is playing. He likes to point out that just 7% of National Football League fans have ever set foot in an NFL stadium, and he figures that the way to push that percentage higher is to make the stadium experience better than what you get at home.

The odd thing is, when you look around the new Cowboys Stadium, with its multitude of private clubs and bars and what you might call its presiding deity (a massive, 600-ton JumboTron hovering 90 ft. above the field), you can't help suspecting that a good part of his vision is to make the stadium experience even more like the home experience—centered on television, food and drink—but bigger. Much, much bigger. So at 3 million sq. ft., the Cowboys' new home in Arlington, Texas, is three times

the size of Texas Stadium, where they used to play. At a cost of \$1.2 billion, it's also the priciest stadium in the NFL—but only until next year, when the \$1.6 billion Jets/Giants stadium opens in East Rutherford, N.J.

And then there's that high-def JumboTron—the world's largest—a mammoth, four-sided, Cleopatra's barge of videoscreens stretching 160 ft. in length. For many fans, especially the ones in the nosebleed seats, what they see on that screen will be their experience of the game. By comparison, the actual teams will be little dots scrambling on a field far below—except in the rare cases when the two worlds collide. In a much discussed incident during a pre-season game at the stadium in August, A.J. Trapasso of the Tennessee Titans managed to bonk the JumboTron with a punt, which set off a fuss about whether it would have to be hauled higher. Jones has refused, and for now the NFL has ruled that if another punt hits the big TV, it's a do-over.

Jones thinks Trapasso hit the screen deliberately. If that's true, you have to wonder: Did he do it just to show the big TV that there are still some flesh-and-blood players in this game?

### The Big Tickets

SOMETHING ELSE ABOUT JONES' STADIUM is big: the prices. Like baseball parks and basketball-hockey arenas, football stadiums have for decades been evolving into places where an increasing amount of the real estate is devoted to premium-priced seating. In that department, Cowboys Stadium is the new frontier. About a third of the base seating capacity of 73,000 consists of suites—325 of them—and high-priced "club seats" with access to various bar-lounges at escalating levels of luxury. Those seats require that you first buy a 30-year license, which costs between \$16,000 and \$150,000, depending on sight lines and your desired degree of excess. And that sum doesn't include the cost of season tickets that range from \$59 to \$340 per game for those seats. Team Marketing Report, a sports-business publisher, maintains a Fan Cost Index, which is the average cost for a family of four to purchase tickets, food and drink, programs, caps and parking. For the league as a whole, that number is \$412.64 per game. For the Cowboys, it's a whopping \$758.58, largely because the average ticket price, \$159.65, is more than twice the league average.

You can get in and out cheaper than that, but it comes with a catch. Terraces behind each end zone have been set aside as standing room for \$29 a head. The Cowboys call those tickets "party passes," because standees get to mill around, chug beer and do their own sack dances if that's what they're



**Inside the mother ship**

Franz Ackermann's mural *Coming Home (Meet Me) at the Waterfall*, top; a stadium club area with flat-screen TVs for keeping track of the game, right; one of the 325 private suites, above



### High Five: Recent Stadium Designs That Scored



#### Allianz Arena

The Munich soccer stadium by Herzog & de Meuron has a plastic exterior skin that lights up in team colors



#### Wembley Stadium

London's new soccer field by Norman Foster's firm launches a dramatic steel arch as structural support



#### University of Phoenix Stadium

A playing field that slides in and out of the place on a tray is the wow factor of Peter Eisenman's design



#### National Stadium

A.k.a. the Bird's Nest, Herzog & de Meuron's intricately woven bowl became a symbol of the Beijing Olympics



### Cowboys Stadium

The Dallas-based firm HKS Architects arrived at a balance of steel and glass that's muscular in some places, transparent in others. Giant glass doors at both ends admit views and natural light, while sloping bands of fritted glass along the sides catch the sky

in the mood for—they're the sports-world equivalent of free-range chickens. But knowing that the most affordable tickets don't actually get you a seat does nothing to discourage the suspicion that even fewer than that 7% of all fans will be able to see games live and that pro football is headed the way of opera as an indulgence for people in the top tax brackets.

All the same, there must be quite a few of those people, because even in a sluggish economy, the new stadium is close to selling out. By mid-September, the Cowboys were reporting that 95% of their club and reserve seats have been sold to season-ticket holders. That's all the more impressive when you remember that the Cowboys, who ruled the NFL in the early '90s, barely rule Texas these days. Between 1972 and 1996 they won five Super Bowls, three of them in the years after Jones bought the team in 1989 and started fiddling energetically with the coaching staff and the roster. But 1996 was the last time the 'Boys won a playoff game, and they finished last season with a lackluster 9-7 record. Yet in one respect they still rule—*Forbes* magazine estimates they're the most valuable franchise in sports, worth \$1.6 billion, given the willingness of Cowboys fans to pay up no matter what happens on the field.

The Cowboys have been a tremendous investment for Jones, 66, who bought the team for just \$150 million. With revenues of \$280 million in the 2008 season, they rank third in revenues in the NFL, after the Washington Redskins (\$345 million) and the New England Patriots (\$302 million). In June the Dallas *Morning News* estimated that if the Cowboys draw an average of 80,000 visitors to their eight regular-season home games this year, Jones could see those revenues climb to about \$360 million. The paper estimated that about \$60 million of that increase would come from those pricey club seats and suites.

I have seen the future, and it certainly works for Jerry Jones.

### Made in Texas

THOUGH JONES WANTED HIS NEW STADIUM to be an icon, he stopped short of hiring name architects like Peter Eisenman, Norman Foster or Herzog & de Meuron, the guys who have added star power to stadium design over the past few years. Why butt heads with a big thinker when you've got some big thoughts of your own? "We really knew what this building was going to look like," Jones says. "What I needed was a good listener."

So he turned instead to Bryan Trubey of HKS Architects, a Dallas-based firm, and together they came up with an adroitly glamorous exercise in how to balance



### The prime mover

*Jones, who pushed out legendary coach Tom Landry, has never been shy about putting his stamp on the Cowboys*

muscle and lightness. The muscle comes from the main structural supports of the stadium's retractable roof, a pair of massive single-span steel arches, each a quarter-mile in length, that plant their big feet in concrete boxes just outside the exterior walls. The lightness comes from 180-ft.-high glass doors set between the arches on two sides of the stadium. Those let in an exceptional amount of natural sunlight for a climate-controlled environment and give anyone approaching the building a clear vista straight across the field and out the other side. After the infernal summer weather leaves town, a line of glass doors at each end zone can slide away to admit real air into the place.

Not many of the architectural features of the new stadium are groundbreaking in themselves. The best of them are smart adaptations, well deployed. In particular, the arches and glass walls call to mind the new Wembley Stadium in London, a Foster design that Jones liked enough to visit three times on idea-gathering travels he and his wife Gene made to stadiums, airports and even shopping malls. Over the past few years, Gene also headed a project that commissioned site-specific works for the stadium by artists like Franz Ackermann, Mel Bochner and Olafur Eliasson, museum-quality names whose work you don't usually find in a building with a retractable roof. "I just thought it would be great to have art that's not just football art," she says. "To have something that's very contemporary, like the building, very cutting-edge."

Around much of its exterior, Cowboys Stadium is covered in sloping bands of fritted glass that reflect the shifting blue and silver-gray of the Texas skies. And as Jones is happy to remind you, "Those are the colors of the team!" Spend enough time with him, and you may end up convinced that the whole of creation was designed to color-coordinate with the Cowboys jerseys. But at the end of the day, the real Cowboys color is dollar green.



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# Life

REAL ESTATE □ RELIGION



REAL ESTATE

## Reinventing the McMansion. Now that smaller houses are back in style, people are finding new uses for the oversize ones

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

WHAT DO WE DO WITH OUR  
McMANSIONS NOW?

The housing market may be showing signs of life, but it's mostly limited to modest homes. The 4,000-, 5,000- and 6,000-square-footers—the ones that dot the landscape of countless American suburbs,

replete with vaulted foyers and Palladian windows—are still finding precious few takers.

But maybe that's O.K., because the Great McMansion Repurposing has begun. People are finding new uses for huge houses that were once inhabited only by nuclear families. A film collective in Seattle has taken over one

beemoth, turning the wine closet into an editing room. Outside San Diego, the former residence of a husband and wife and two kids is being converted into a home for autistic adults. Architects around the world are dreaming about what they might do if they could get their hands on such massive spaces. A group in

Ohio wants to create suburban greenhouses. Another, in Australia, has a plan to take a large dwelling apart at the seams and build two new houses with the materials.

The McMansion, perhaps the most garish symbol of the age of real estate excess, is fast becoming a relic. For the first time in 15 years, the average



**From group homes to greenhouses** Ideas are flying about what to do with unwanted large houses

size of a new house is falling, according to data from the National Association of Home Builders. That fits shifting demographics. As baby boomers gray, fewer people have kids at home. In 2000, 33% of households included children; by 2030, only 27% will. "Single people and households without children don't want big houses on big lots," says Arthur Nelson, director of metropolitan research at the University of Utah's College of Architecture and Planning. To visualize the coming change, imagine a turreted Victorian mansion, the sort that was popular at the turn of the 1900s. Now picture an Arts & Crafts bungalow, the small-footprint style that followed in reaction.

The good news—at least from a city-planning point of view—is that McMansions are ready-made to be broken into tinier living spaces. Each bedroom typically has its own bathroom, voluminous basements often offer a second kitchen, and garages comfortably fit three or four cars.

Around the country, people are getting creative with that sort of space. Members

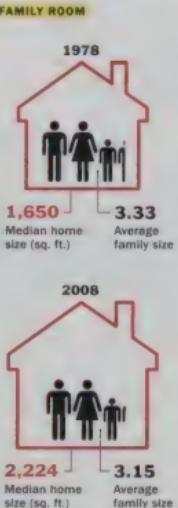
of Seattle's Beta Society not only sleep in their 10,000-sq.-ft. find but also shoot movies there. (They keep a green screen in the garage.) Near San Diego, the nonprofit TERI Inc. has bought a 3,600-square-footer on half an acre to house four autistic young adults. The secluded master suite that used to give parents some privacy now offers the same benefit to a live-in attendant, while the pool makes for great therapy. In Idaho, the nonprofit Housing Company is looking for a 4,000- or 5,000-sq.-ft. house to turn into a home for kids aging out of foster care. "You have all these spaces for teaching life skills before they try to make it on their own," says director Douglas Peterson. A restaurant-league kitchen, for example, can be used as a place to give cooking lessons. An industrial-size laundry room is large enough to handle a group lesson on separating whites.

Longtime McMansion residents too are looking for more economical ways to use their space. In the lush suburbs of Connecticut, some homeowners have started

to rent out rooms. And even among those not looking for help with the mortgage, a movement to make supersize homes cozier is bubbling up. Architect Sarah Susanka, a small-house advocate, is finding that people are interested in making modifications, like lowering ceilings, to create more intimacy. Mathieu Gallois, who came up with the McMansion-splitting project in Australia, hit on the idea while visiting a 4,000-sq.-ft. home and feeling that with everyone in his or her own room, the family had been "atomized"—and that someone should do something about it.

All this repurposing is easier said than done. Statistically speaking, we may have too many too large houses, but try to split them up—as people did a century ago with those Victorian mansions—and you're sure to hear from the neighbors. In order to keep houses as single-family homes and ostensibly protect property values, zoning ordinances and neighborhood by-laws often limit the number of unrelated people allowed to live in one dwelling.

But an even larger problem is brewing, according to Christopher Leinberger, a real estate professor at the University of Michigan and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution. If there are no longer enough people who want to own overgrown houses in sprawling suburbs, we could see a repeat of what happened in center cities in the 1950s and '60s, when abandoned homes helped set off blight. What we really need to do, Leinberger says, is reinvent entire communities as the sorts of places where people want to live. That means building mass transit and urban-style city centers away from the metropolitan core. Finding new, creative uses for McMansions is a start, but the ultimate goal may be to design neighborhoods in which such large houses wouldn't make sense in the first place.



Only new single-family homes measured.  
Sources: National Association of Home Builders, U.S. Census Bureau

# Working Out While Muslim.

Women around the world are inventing ways to balance faith with fitness

BY AZADEH MOAVENI

THE FIRST TIME I WENT JOGGING in Tehran, I nearly hyperventilated after four blocks, despite wearing the gauziest of headscarves and a decidedly immodest pair of Nike Capri pants. The fabric covering my ears and neck stoked my body temperature unbearably, and the pleasurable strain of running gave way to acute discomfort. "How am I going to stay fit here?" I wailed to my Iranian girlfriends, experts in the dilemma of balancing exercise with Islamic modesty codes. They offered me plenty of advice, from wearing headscarves with ear slits to calibrating outdoor exercise to the seasons to finding women-only gyms.

For the pious Muslim woman, one of the greatest challenges of modern life is how to get a good workout. There are many schools of thought addressing this practical problem, and often the answer boils down to comfort vs. one's attachment to a particular sport. I am a runner by nature, but my discomfort threshold is ridiculously low, and while living in Iran I gave up running in favor of hiking. (In the seclusion of the mountains, no one frets if you tie a bandanna over your hair instead of a proper veil.) During snowy Tehran winters, I pushed myself to go skiing, since modesty ceases to be an

**Dress code**

- 1 *The Burqini swimsuit covers everything but the face, hands and feet*
- 2 *Al-Ghasara, competing in a hijood*
- 3 *A surfer in high-tech but modest attire*



issue when you're bundled in a ski suit and hat. Perhaps my cardiovascular endurance plunged with all the varied exercise, but hey, I was cross-training out of the clutches of the morality police, and I was pretty comfortable.

Many Muslim women are more devoted to their favorite form of exercise. If they are runners, they must run;



if they are swimmers, they must swim. For these women, there are only two options: a clever outfit that breathes and sequestration in a same-sex exercise facility. The athletic veil, or "hijood," is made from high-tech fabric that's meant to wick sweat from the skin. It debuted when the Bahraini sprinter Roqaya al-Ghasara wore it while competing at

the 2008 Olympics. While it takes a certain steely piety to wear the hijood—its slick ninjasque style might be too assertively Muslim for some—the relative ease of sweating or swimming in something other than heavy cotton is unbeatable.

For some Muslim women, though, gender-segregated exercise is the preferred solution. When you've grown up in a culture in which men and women relate prudishly, not even a Coolmax barrier of high-tech Lycra is going to put you at ease panting alongside men in a coed exercise class. Women-only gyms and gyms with women-only hours or rooms dot the whole of the Islamic world. In the U.S., women only chains like Curves and Linda Evans Fitness created a way for Americans from Muslim countries to retain their piety without seeming to embrace separation. I have fond memories of following my mother around her local Linda Evans center in California, watching Pakistani matrons and white soccer moms chat while striding energetically on long rows of treadmills.

For the fitness-minded faithful, the terrain varies dramatically from one country or region to another. But it remains entirely possible for Muslim women—from the gently shy to the severely pious—to respect their religion and stay in shape. ■

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This suggests that  $\alpha = 0.8$ ,  $\beta = 0.15$ ,  $\gamma = 0.15$ ,  $\delta = 0.05$ , and  $\epsilon = 0.05$ . The results of the numerical simulations are shown in Figure 10. The initial condition is  $u_0(x) = 0$  and  $v_0(x) = 1$ .

# Art

□ TELEVISION □ BOOKS □ SHORT LIST

## TELEVISION

### Host with the Most.

Neil Patrick Harris stars as himself

BY JOEL STEIN

AMERICA IS THE LAND OF SECOND ACTS, but still, a gay former child actor who loves magic isn't supposed to return as an icon of cool masculinity. Yet at 36, Neil Patrick Harris, who played a genius teenage doctor on *Doogie Howser, M.D.*, has used rat-pack swagger to climb the hosting rope in record time, from emceeing the TV Land awards in April to the Tonys in June to the Emmys on Sept. 20. He's up for his own Emmy this year for his role as an over-the-top straight guy in the CBS sitcom *How I Met Your Mother*. And he has parodied this image of suit-wearing cockiness by playing a hypermasculine version of himself in the *Harold & Kumar* movies. If Frank Sinatra had wanted a gay singing-and-dancing magician to party with—and no doubt he would have—Harris would have gotten the nod.

The role of Doogie might have seemed an impossible one to recover from, but Harris' secret is that he is neither embarrassed by nor unduly proud of his past. "It's a strange thing to shed, and it's a strange thing to own," he says of the role over



sushi. "Because it's not you while you're doing it, and it's certainly not you after you do it. You're just an actor some casting director hired for the gig. But you have to own it." He has owned it, playing a clueless doctor in an Old Spice ad ("As a former make-believe doctor, there's one product I can recommend . . .") and delivering a version of the *Doogie* theme song when he hosted *Saturday Night Live*. He has a affection for Doogie, but he doesn't need to hang out with him, nor does he need to kick his ass.

That's partly because, unlike most young actors whose parents drive their early choices, Harris found Doogie himself. He went to acting camp in his home state of New Mexico, where the writer Mark Medoff, who was an instructor at the camp, cast Harris in his 1988 movie, *Clara's Heart*. His parents moved with him to L.A. during *Doogie*'s four-year run, and after it ended in 1993, Harris kept working in TV, film and theater, acquiring exactly the skills you'd need to go into show business in 1890: magic, acrobatics, singing and dancing. Because his fame came early, he's now more interested in doing fun stuff—reading at the Christmas show at his beloved Disney World, serving on the board of Hollywood's Magic Castle (a club for magicians), producing an interactive mystery-theater piece called *Accomplice: Hollywood*—than in managing his career toward lead film roles. All of which has made him famous for being himself.

It started when a buddy told him there was a script floating around, titled *Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle*, in which Neil Patrick Harris appeared as a selfish, arrogant jerk. "My friend thought it wasn't very funny and thought I should talk to my lawyer about it," he says. Instead, he signed up for the role and played it to the hilt. Because that character called himself NPH, Harris now uses those initials to sign autographs and identify himself on his voice mail. "He's extremely comfortable with who he is," says *Harold & Kumar* co-writer Jon Hurwitz. "He's not somebody

who seems to have a lot of demons and is torn up inside about his place in the world."

That goes for his personal life too. Three years ago, when blogger Perez Hilton relentlessly demanded that Harris out himself to the media, Harris made a statement to *PEOPLE* magazine that was so direct it barely caused a ripple. In fact, when the writers of *Sesame Street* asked him to play the Shoe Fairy—one of the show's many celebrity fairies—Harris agreed to put on wings and sing and dance about foot wear. With a slight rewrite. "He's called the Fairy Shoe Person!" he says when I get the name wrong. "Don't be rude."

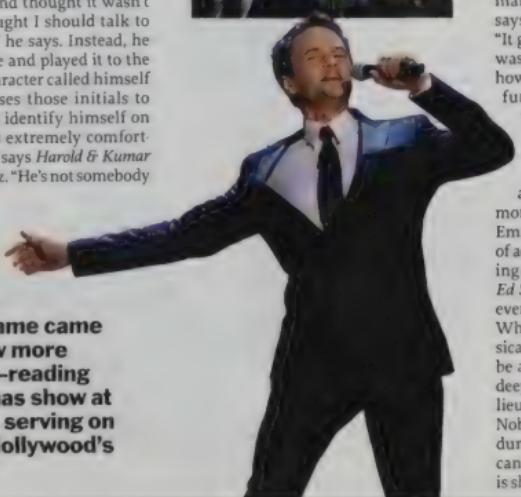
It's that bravado undercut with self depreciation that makes Harris such a great host. "He's funny, but he's not grasping to be funny. He's just naturally quick-witted," says *Live with Regis and Kelly* producer Michael Gelman, who liked Harris so much as a guest that he hired him as a regular replacement host. For the Emmys, Harris has taken on producing responsibilities, which allow him to steer the show toward his ideal: how Steve Allen did it when he hosted the first nationally televised ceremony in 1955.

Harris' day job, for now, is doing brilliant parodies of straight men. In *Harold & Kumar Escape from Guantanamo Bay*, he goes to a whorehouse, picks out the largest fake-breasted woman in the world, has sex with her and brands her with his initials. In *How I Met Your Mother*, his high-fiving, high-finance character has slept with more than 200 women and spouts catchphrases about "the bro code." "It's a burlesque of the heterosexual male as done by a gay performer, which is a big element of what makes his performance so compelling," says Carter Bays, the show's co-creator. "It gives him a good entry for satire. That was the wink of his performance." Harris, however, says he isn't consciously making fun of straight dudes. "Since I'm not at all that guy, I'm trying to embody it with relish. But there's no wink, wink, nudge, nudge with it," he says.

As he pours the last of the sake, aggravating the elbow he hurt that morning doing pratfalls for a pretaped Emmy bit, he says he hopes to segue out of acting, with its job insecurity, by directing and doing more hosting—possibly an *Ed Sullivan*-type variety show. "He loves every aspect of the hosting thing," says Joss Whedon, who cast Harris in his online musical *Dr. Horrible's Sing-Along Blog*. "He can be as snarky and sarcastic as anyone, but deep down, it's only love. He loves the milieu and the medium and the dumb stuff. Nobody who does magic doesn't love the dumb stuff." And no one who does magic can't put on some confidence. Harris' talent is showing you how that trick is done. ■



Paging NPH From top, Dr. Doogie; Harris with Harold and Kumar; and all suited up in How I Met Your Mother



**Because his fame came early, he's now more into fun stuff—reading at the Christmas show at Disney World, serving on the board of Hollywood's Magic Castle**

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#### Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, and Impairment of Fertility:

Systemic carcinogenicity studies were carried out in male and female mice and rats. In the 78-week oral (diet) mouse study, at doses of 1, 4, and 16 mg/kg/day, evidence of a statistically significant trend was found for lymphocytic lymphomas and the incidence of hepatocellular carcinomas in mid-dose males significantly exceeded the control value.

In the 24-month oral (diet) rat study, conducted at 0.5, 2, and 8 mg/kg/day, pancreatic islet cell adenomas significantly exceeded the control rate in the low dose level. The hepatocellular carcinomas and pancreatic islet cell adenomas were not dose related. The low doses in mice and rats are approximately 1000 and 500 times greater, respectively, than the daily human dose of one drop (28 µL) of 0.05% **RESTASIS®** BID into each eye of a 60 kg person (0.001 mg/kg/day), assuming that the entire dose is absorbed.

Cyclosporine has not been found mutagenic/genotoxic in the Ames Test, the V79-HGPRT Test, the micronucleus test in mice and Chinese hamsters, the chromosome-aberration test in Chinese hamster bone marrow, the mouse dominant lethal assay, and the DNA-repair test in sperm from treated mice. A study analyzing sister chromatid exchange (SCE) induction by cyclosporine using human lymphocytes *in vitro* gave indication of a positive effect (i.e., induction of SCE).

No impairment in fertility was demonstrated in studies in male and female rats receiving oral doses of cyclosporine up to 15 mg/kg/day (approximately 15,000 times the human daily dose of 0.001 mg/kg/day) for 9 weeks (male) and 2 weeks (female) prior to mating.

#### Pregnancy-Teratogenic effects:

Pregnancy category C.

**Teratogenic effects:** No evidence of teratogenicity was observed in rats or rabbits receiving oral doses of cyclosporine up to 300 mg/kg/day during organogenesis. These doses in rats and rabbits are approximately 300,000 times greater than the daily human dose of one drop (28 µL) 0.05% **RESTASIS®** BID into each eye of a 60 kg person (0.001 mg/kg/day), assuming that the entire dose is absorbed.

**Non-Teratogenic effects:** Adverse effects were seen in reproduction studies in rats and rabbits only at doses levels toxic to dams. At toxic doses (rats at 100 mg/kg/day and rabbits at 100 mg/kg/day), cyclosporine oral solution, USP, was embryo- and fetotoxic as indicated by increased pre- and postnatal mortality and reduced fetal weight together with related skeletal retardations. These doses are 30,000 and 100,000 times greater, respectively, than the daily human dose of one drop (28 µL) 0.05% **RESTASIS®** BID into each eye of a 60 kg person (0.001 mg/kg/day), assuming that the entire dose is absorbed. No evidence of embryofetal toxicity was observed in rats or rabbits receiving cyclosporine at oral doses up to 17 mg/kg/day or 30 mg/kg/day, respectively, during organogenesis. These doses in rats and rabbits are approximately 17,000 and 30,000 times greater, respectively, than the daily human dose.

Offspring of rats receiving a 45 mg/kg/day oral dose of cyclosporine from Day 15 of pregnancy until Day 21 post partum, a maternally toxic level, exhibited an increase in postnatal mortality; this dose is 45,000 times greater than the daily human topical dose, 0.001 mg/kg/day, assuming that the entire dose is absorbed. No adverse events were observed at oral doses up to 15 mg/kg/day (15,000 times greater than the daily human dose).

There are no adequate and well-controlled studies of **RESTASIS®** in pregnant women. **RESTASIS®** should be administered to a pregnant woman only if clearly needed.

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#### Pediatric Use:

The safety and efficacy of **RESTASIS®** ophthalmic emulsion have not been established in pediatric patients below the age of 16.

#### Genetic Use:

No overall difference in safety or effectiveness has been observed between elderly and younger patients.

#### ADVERSE REACTIONS

The most common adverse event following the use of **RESTASIS®** was ocular burning (17%).

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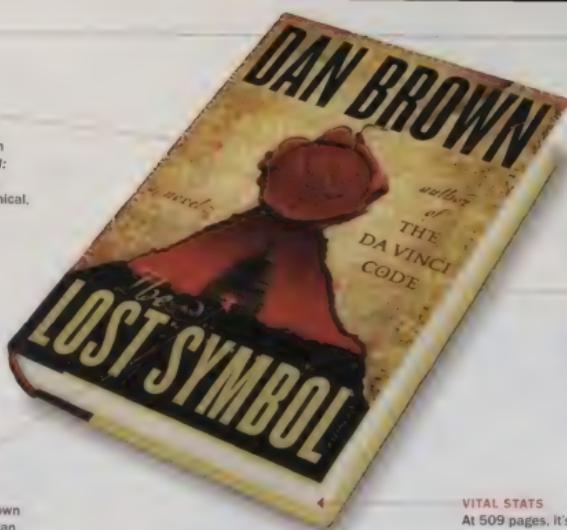
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#### SYMBOLS

Langdon finds plenty of them in *The Lost Symbol*: Greek, Egyptian, Masonic, alchemical, Kabbalistic ...



**MASONIC SEAL**  
It bears a Masonic motto and the number 33. Two of the characters are 33rd-degree Masons, the highest level

#### THE CAPITOL

In a bravura performance, Brown lays bare the pagan foundations of this iconic American building

#### PYRAMID

The ripped paper defines the outline of a pyramid, the symbol of man's yearning for the heavens

#### VITAL STATS

At 509 pages, it's longer than *Da Vinci Code* but shorter than *Angels & Demons*

## BOOKS

**The Symbol Life.** After six years, a sequel to *The Da Vinci Code* arrives. This time, they're chasin' Masons

#### FIRST LINES

*The secret is how to die.*

*Since the beginning of time, the secret had always been how to die.*

*The thirty-four-year-old initiate gazed down at the human skull cradled in his palms. The skull was hollow, like a bowl, filled with bloodied wine.*

#### BY LEV GROSSMAN

SOMEBODY OUT THERE HAS PROBABLY already pointed out that the publication date of *The Da Vinci Code*—March 18, 2003—came just two days before the American invasion of Iraq. That isn't a conspiracy; it's just a coincidence. But it does, as fans of *The Da Vinci Code* say, make you think.

Consider: Dan Brown's novel proposed an alternative history of Christianity, wherein a bitter schism took place shortly after Jesus' death between the mean patriarchal faction that concealed Jesus' marriage and the nice faction of startlingly liberal first-wave feminists. In other words, *The Da Vinci Code* recast the history of Christianity into something that looks a lot more like the history of ... Islam, wherein a bitter early schism took place between the Sunnis and the Shi'ites. Could the book's passionate following in predominantly Christian America

express a repressed longing for a sexier, darker, more exciting history—like the Muslims have? Who cares about the Diet of Worms? Wouldn't it be cool if Jesus got his Grail on?

Probably not. But that's the name of the game in the Browniverse: coincidences aren't just chance, and things aren't just things; they mean something. Brown's hero, Robert Langdon, is after all a professor of symbology (a branch of human inquiry that—it cannot be stated often enough—doesn't exist, at Harvard or anywhere else). Beneath his learned, oddly asexual caress, objects come to life and become symbols. A V isn't just a V—it's a chalice, a symbol of the eternal feminine. Noise becomes signal. Chaos becomes order.

Unlike the first two Langdon novels, which dealt with the Christian church, *The Lost Symbol* (Doubleday; 509 pages) deals with the Freemasons (whose motto, "Ordo ab chao"—order

out of chaos—could be his own). In the opening pages, Langdon is summoned—he's *always* getting summoned—to Washington by a call that he thinks is from his old mentor Peter Solomon, head of the Smithsonian. Langdon believes he's to give a speech at a fundraiser. But when he shows up, there's no fundraiser and no speech, just Solomon's severed hand, grotesquely tattooed, stuck on a spike in the Capitol rotunda. Oh, snap.

At this point, Brown's signature touches are already in place. Langdon is present and accounted for: Mickey Mouse watch, check; tweed jacket, check; freakish memory, check; crippling clausophobia, check. We've also been introduced to a lonely, violent fanatic with weird skin. His name is Mal'akh, not Silas, and instead of being an albino, he's covered in tattoos—but same difference.

It's easy to run Brown down because his writing isn't exactly deft. The unfortunate sentence "His massive sex organ bore the tattooed symbols of his destiny" should itself be forcibly tattooed on Brown's massive sex organ. His scholarship reads like the work of a man who believes Wikipedia. In particular, the book suffers from an ill-advised



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A tradition of being non-traditional.



**The Con of  
Dan Before he  
was a writer,  
Brown was  
a pop singer.  
Good career  
move**

fling with something called noetic science, which is based on the idea that human consciousness can affect the physical world, thereby providing "the link between modern science and ancient mysticism."

But the general feel, if not all the specifics, of Brown's cultural history is entirely correct. He loves showing us places where our carefully tended cultural boundaries—between Christian and pagan, sacred and secular, ancient and modern—turn out to be messy. Langdon is correct in pointing out that the Capitol "was designed as a tribute to one of Rome's most venerated mystical shrines," the Temple of Vesta, and that it prominently features a painting of George Washington dressed as Zeus. That stuff is deeply weird and not at all trivial. Power is power, and it flows from religious vessels to political ones with disturbing ease. ("That hardly fits with the Christian underpinnings of this country," harumphs a bystander. Well, right.)

The plot of *The Lost Symbol* churns forward with a brutalist energy that makes character but a flesh appendage on its iron machine. Langdon must ransack the Capitol

for his missing friend, the one who lost the hand, and for a hidden Masonic pyramid, which is the key to the mystical wisdom that will turn man into god—something Mal'akh, the tattooed nut job, has a keen interest in. Langdon is joined by Solomon's sister, another of Brown's interchangeable, "attractive, dark-haired" brainy-hotty heroines, who happens to be a noetic scientist.

Brown continues his zero-sexual-tension policy in *The Lost Symbol*. Will we never learn what symbols adorn Langdon's sex organ? Instead, Langdon directs his energies toward decoding exotic symbological specimens with an inexhaustible sense of wonderment. (No! It can't be! Oh, but it can, Professor Langdon.) If the book has a human heart, it's the struggle

between Langdon's native academic skepticism and the ever mounting evidence that there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in his symbology. "You, like many educated people, live trapped between worlds," a wise priest (he's also a Mason!) tells him. "Your heart yearns to believe ... but your intellect refuses to permit it." Langdon should get together with Agent Mulder from *The X-Files*.

But Brown has another agenda in *The Lost Symbol*, which is to place Washington among the great world capitals of gothic mystery, alongside Paris and London and Rome—or, for that matter, Baghdad. What he did for Christianity in *Angels & Demons* and *The Da Vinci Code*, he is now trying to do for America: reclaim its richness, its darkness, its weirdness. It's probably a quixotic effort, but it's a touchingly valiant one. We're not just overweight tourists in T-shirts and fanny packs, he seems to be saying. Our history is as sick and strange as anybody's! There's signal in the noise, order in the chaos! You just need a degree from a nonexistent Harvard department to see it.

**What Brown did for  
Christianity, he is  
now trying to do for  
America: reclaim its  
richness, its darkness,  
its weirdness**

## TELEVISION

# Yes, We Kin. ABC's *Modern Family* is a clever study of an off-kilter clan

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

WORKPLACE COMEDIES LIKE *THE OFFICE*, it's sometimes said, are really family comedies—only about families of people with almost nothing in common, thrown together by circumstance. Thing is, that often describes actual families as well. So it's only fitting that the funniest new family comedy of the year, ABC's *Modern Family* (Wednesdays, 9 p.m. E.T.), is shot in the same mockumentary style as *The Office*, with a similar mix of hilarity and heart.

It's a neat approach, one that emphasizes how understanding the people closest to you—the father who takes a much younger second wife, the defensive gay brother who comes home with an adopted baby from Vietnam, or your newly contrary teenage daughter—can sometimes feel like an anthropology project.

Maybe the most surprising thing about *Modern Family* is how many laughs it gets out of the most ordinary of its three couples: Phil (Ty Burrell) and Claire (Julie



Nuclear option Burrell, left, and Bowen, right, are the conventional-yet-odd couple

Bowen), overscheduled and driven by competing parenting impulses. She wants to compensate for her wild childhood. "If Haley never wakes up on a beach in Florida half-naked," she says, "I've done my job." He wants desperately to be cool, mortify his kids by memorizing every dance move in *High School Musical* and asserting his (faulty) knowledge of text message speak ("WTF: Why the Face?").

Claire's old-fashioned father Jay and his passionate Colombian bride Gloria, meanwhile, light up the screen because of the inspired pairing of character actor Ed O'Neill and comic bombshell Sofia Vergara. It's Jay's son Mitchell (Jesse Tyler Ferguson) and his partner Cameron (Eric Stonestreet)—the least conventional couple—who have the most familiar relationship, squabbling and correcting each other as comfortably as retirees on their golden anniversary.

When they spring their adopted baby on the family and the whole messy brood welcomes her—"She's one of us now! Lemme see the little pot sticker!" Jay declares—it's a perfect ending for a promising pilot. That's what family means: the second you join, it's as if they've known you forever. Then you spend the rest of your lives surprising one another. ■

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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



## 1 MOVIE The Informant!

Harried, paunchy, middle-aged: Mark Whitacre, corporate exec and FBI snitch, might seem a role more suited to William H. Macy than to Matt Damon. Yet Damon is utterly convincing in this oddball espionage comedy from director Steven Soderbergh. The funniest part: the story is more or less true!

## 2 ALBUM The Stone Roses 20th Anniversary

The Stone Roses were huge in England, but in the preglobalized '80s, their music was hardly available in the U.S. So what did we miss? Ian Brown's bleak northern outlook, sung over ecstatically romantic chords and harmonies. This three-disc set captures it all.



## 3 MOVIE Jennifer's Body

When a cool girl (Megan Fox) goes all ravenous after being mauled by a satanic rock band, her supposedly frumpy BFF (Amanda Seyfried) must save or kill her. This smart horror comedy from director Karyn Kusama and *Juno* writer Diablo Cody plays like *Heathers* with fangs.



## 4 BOOK The Strangest Man

Paul Dirac won a Nobel Prize for Physics at 31. He was one of quantum mechanics' founding fathers, an Einstein-level genius. He was also virtually incapable of having normal social interactions. Graham Farmelo's biography explains Dirac's mysterious life and work.



## 5 ALBUM The Blueprint 3

Jay-Z retired on a high note, six years and four albums ago. His latest comeback is a pop-leaning mix of publicity stunts ("D.O.A. [Death of Auto-Tune]"), inertia ("Empire State of Mind") and enough genius ("Off That") to keep you from tying him to a rocking chair.



### Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)



## Dennis Hopper's Short List

It's been 40 years since Hopper's iconic counterculture movie *Easy Rider*—in which he co-starred with Peter Fonda and a newcomer named Jack Nicholson—roared onto the big screen. Now he's busy on the small screen, starring in the second season of *Crash* (from the producers of the Oscar-winning movie of the same name) as a former rock-music producer fresh out of rehab. Here are some of the artists and works that this seasoned pro enjoys—and the place where he most likes to eat.

### Moreau and his legacy

Nineteenth century French artist Gustave Moreau transformed his home into a museum and left all his work to the state to be displayed the way he wanted. He was the first to paint abstractly in the late 1800s, and Henri Matisse and Georges Rouault were among his students.

### Multi-hatted artist

Julian Schnabel is not only a wonderful tactile artist but a terrific filmmaker as well. Best known for directing the Oscar-nominated *Diving Bell and the Butterfly*, he is currently editing his fifth film, which is about Palestine and Israel.

### Creative genius

*Letters to a Young Poet* by Rainer Maria Rilke not only was the father of modern poetry but also proved that creativity is a necessity.

### Celluloid treasure

*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, directed by John Huston and starring his father Walter Huston and Humphrey Bogart, has been my favorite movie since the first time I watched it.

### The most delicious city

It's not the casinos or the shows or the art collections or the architecture that makes Las Vegas great. It's that right now, Vegas has the best restaurants in the world.



Joel

# Stein

## The Vaccination War. My wife thinks I want to inject our infant son with cancer-causing toxins. So that's going well

MY WIFE AND I HAVEN'T HAD MANY FIGHTS ABOUT CHILD-rearing yet. This is mostly because all our son does so far is sleep, eat and poop at the precise moment I hand him over to Cassandra.

However, we did have a major disagreement about vaccination. Unlike Cassandra, I feel it's important to overload our child with toxic levels of chemicals, risking permanent damage to his nervous system. At least that's how she saw it.

Her concern about the safety of vaccines is not unique, at least not in the liberal, wealthy part of L.A. where we live. Several friends have not vaccinated their children, and we know pediatricians who recommend avoiding some or all shots. And I know almost no one who is willing to get the swine-flu shot, and not because everyone here is Jewish. It's because while the far right gets a lot of crap about not believing in science, the left isn't crazy about it either. Only instead of rejecting facts that conflict with the Bible, it ignores anything that conflicts with hippie myths about the perfection of nature. That's why my neighborhood is full of places you can go to detoxify with colonic, get healed with crystals and magnets and buy non-genetically engineered food. We complain less about the liberal side of antiscience because the women who believe in this stuff are generally hot.

I totally get that the idea of injecting a tiny bit of a disease into a child is weird. It's freaked people out for more than a century, often for religious reasons, causing riots in England in the 1850s, a huge uprising in Brazil in 1904 and a polio-vaccine boycott in Nigeria in 2001. Such rebellions against vaccination typically lead to disease outbreaks that put unimmunized kids at elevated risk, and, unless someone does something to stop it, endless *New Yorker* stories.

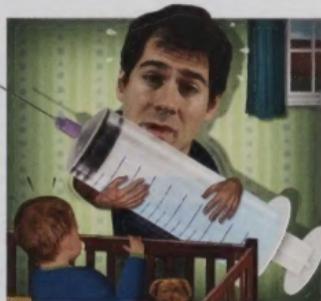
To try to be open-minded and stop our fighting, I went to a seminar about inoculation at Cassandra's yoga center. Along with about 50 other people, we paid \$30 each to listen to Dr. Lauren Feder. I was doing a pretty good job of distracting myself until Feder told us that a good case of whooping cough can protect your child from asthma, that measles cure eczema and that only 1% of the mere 15% of prevaccine kids who got polio became paralyzed. Feder really sees the good side of life-threatening diseases. I bet she believes Ebola cures wrinkles.

After an hour, I asked a question about whether putting off the vaccine for hepatitis B until puberty was completely safe, or if a child could get the disease from being bitten by another kid. "You go with what feels right," Feder told me. This confused me, so I asked again. "I don't see hep B in my practice very often," she said. "I see hep B—vaccine side effects. Which is multiple sclerosis. I respond to what I see." She added that she doesn't worry about improbable scenarios like infected children biting each other, saying simply, "I don't go there." I do not believe Jonas Salk ever told a questioner to talk to his hand. At the break, we left and got the largest, least organic burgers we could find. I didn't see anyone dying of heart failure, so I responded by getting the onion rings and fries.

After many studies, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, World Health Organization and American Medical Association have all found that the minuscule risks of vaccines are outweighed by the tremendous benefit they provide to individual and public health. And that's good enough for me.

I don't know how much aluminum is safe in a newborn's bloodstream, and I'm sure even a modestly educated opponent of vaccination could throttle me in a debate. What I do know is that I'm pretty confident in the way I get my knowledge. Even in the age of Google and Wikipedia, we still receive almost all of our information through our peers. I believe in evolution not because I've read Darwin but because everyone I know thinks it's true. When presented with doubts, I don't search for detailed information from my side. I go with the consensus of mainstream media, academia and the government. Not because they're always right but because they're right far more often than not, and I have a TiVo to watch. Also, unlike antivaccination people, they usually shut up after a little while.

But Cassandra has her reasons for distrusting the drug companies and the Federal Government, so we compromised. Our son got all the shots, but we searched for brands low in aluminum and spaced out the injections over time. Which is fine with me because it means a few extra visits to the doctor's office to make sure things are O.K.—and a lot less fighting. I'm just hoping her yoga joint doesn't do seminars on peanut allergies. ■



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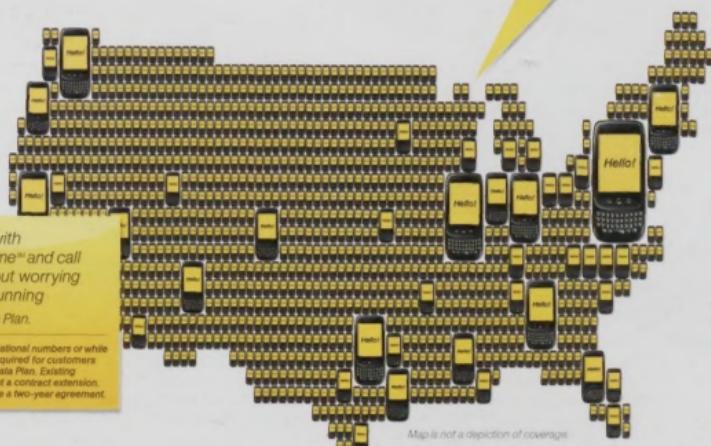
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